

From Gutenberg to Luther

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From Gutenberg to Luther

Transnational Print Cultures in Scandinavia 1450–1525

By

Wolfgang Undorf



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Cover illustration: National Library of Sweden MS A 12, called Virgin Mary's Garden (*Jungfru Marie Örtagård*) and dated around 1510. Cover showing one of the Dutch(?) woodcuts pasted into this Birgittine prayer book. Photographer Jens Östman, National Library of Sweden.

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Acknowledgments

A project which has been a part of the author's life for more than ten years already might be considered as having come quite near its finish line. I don't think and don't hope so. The present book is based on my thesis from 2012, but it has developed since then. This study on pre-Reformation Scandinavian book cultures has been updated and the database of contemporary provenances it is based upon has been extended with a number of new titles and names. But, last not least, its style has been greatly improved thanks to Dr. Rona Johnston Gordon whom I thank very much. I also gratefully acknowledge the support of Kungliga Patriotiska Sällskapet, Stockholm. My book has benefitted from my friend Dr. Otfried Czaika's knowledge of and commitment to the idea of early modern transnational book culture. Thanks to all colleagues, libraries and archives who have enabled my research by supporting me generously with all kinds of relevant information.

I thank Professor Andrew Pettegree and Dr. Falk Eisermann for accepting this book for the *Library of the Written Word*. I hope it will thereby reach out to and bring to life still dormant sources on the cultures of the printed book in early modern Scandinavia.

List of Abbreviations

GW	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/GWEN.xhtml .
HPB	CERL Heritage of the Printed Book Database, http://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.77/ .
INC.	incunable.
ISTC	Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, British Library, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html .
VD 16	Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Stuttgart: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1983–1997, https://opacplus.bib-bvb.de/TouchPoint_touchpoint/start.do?SearchProfile=Altbestand&SearchType=2 .
VE 15	Eisermann, Falk. <i>Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation</i> . 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 2004.

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Introduction

Sometime between 1520 and 1523, the Danish authorities took charge of a large stock of books. The inventory prepared on that occasion, today termed the Malmö List and connected with Christiern Pedersen, records more than 3100 items.¹ The printed books were of three types: an antiquarian collection of mostly continental European incunabula, a small number of older and contemporary Danish books, and recently printed works imported mainly from publishers in Paris and Nuremberg. This collection is remarkable even from a European-wide perspective, exceptional in its size as well as its composition. How could a single person or institution have gathered together all these books in 'peripheral' Scandinavia? For what purpose had this collection been assembled? How should we understand this document – as evidence of a singular episode in Danish and Scandinavian book history or of a cultural achievement of the pre-Reformation period?² Any path traced through the printing, sale, and collecting of books in Scandinavia comes to a dead end with the Malmö List, however, for the political turmoil that in 1523 irrevocably broke up the union of the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden and the introduction of the Reformation that followed together brought the development of the early modern printed book trade in Scandinavia to an abrupt end.

From nearly every stage in the history of print culture in Scandinavia there is evidence of a richness and complexity that has been neglected in mainstream and nationally oriented Scandinavian book history. The Malmö List was published almost a century ago, but its importance for Scandinavian book history has not yet been fully appreciated. Archival evidence of books printed in Denmark but not part of the Danish national bibliography has been overlooked; the Swedish national bibliography has similar gaps. The history of early printing portrayed Scandinavia as a region that received printing passively, too poor and too peripheral in Europe to be able to sustain more than one small printing shop at a certain location or at a time. As soon as one delves into the bibliographical and archival evidence, however, the inaccuracies in this picture become very evident. Printing in Scandinavia was embedded in European-wide printing infrastructures, and so too were the acquisition and collection of books.

1 Johannes Lindbaek and Ellen Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser fra det 16. Aarhundredes Begyndelse', *Danske Magazin* 6, no. 1 (1913), 307–334.

2 'Pre-Reformation' is used throughout this study with chronological rather than theological meaning and refers to the period from 1450 to 1525.

Scandinavian book history must be understood as an integral part of European book history and examined in the light of European information and communication circuits and with all participants considered. This study will re-evaluate Scandinavian pre-Reformation book history, locating it within transnational structures and networks of printer-publishers, merchants and bookbinders, and customers and readers. Its primary concern is not intellectual history but the material history of printed books and images. Chapter 1 re-interprets printing in the Scandinavian countries and its formative interaction with foreign printing. This chapter also provides new contributions to the national bibliographies of Denmark and Sweden, based on new readings of archival and bibliographical evidence. Chapter 2 reconstructs the trade in printed books from continental Europe to northern Europe, considering through statistical means the scale on which books were acquired and collected in Scandinavia. Chapters 3–5 assemble and (re-)interpret a wide range of sources on book collections in pre-Reformation Scandinavia with the focus of each chapter on religious institutions, schools and universities, and private collectors respectively. Chapter 6 both brings to our attention the physical remnants of previously lost products of the printing press, both books and printed images, and re-assesses the role of religious movements in Scandinavian book history.

As sources for certain Scandinavian regions are almost entirely lacking, this study concentrates on Denmark and Sweden, although Norway and Finland are incorporated whenever possible.³ Both Denmark and Sweden are located

3 Little can be said of the world of the printed book in pre-Reformation Iceland, then part of the kingdom of Norway (see Ingvar Andersson and John Granlund, eds. *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid* [Copenhagen 1980], 2:529–530). Its ecclesiastical structures would have supported the consumption of some printed material. The country was divided into two dioceses, Skálholt and Hólar. I have no information on the number of parish churches during the pre-Reformation period, but there was a small number of monasteries: the house of the Augustine friars in Þykkvibæar was founded ca. 1168 with monasteries in Flatey-Helgafell, Viðey, Skriða and Möðruvellir founded later. The monasteries in Þingeyrar and Munkaþverá and the convent in Kirkjubær, founded in the twelfth century, belonged to the Benedictine order, and one century later, a second convent was founded in Reynistaðr. Information about book collections in the decades after the invention of printing is scarce (Ludvig Holm-Olsen, *Med færpenn og pergament: vår skriftkultur i middelalderen* [Oslo 1990], 124–144, gives no specific information about printed books). In 1525, the parish church of Vellir owned a collection of more than 30 books, fewer than at the end of the fourteenth century. In the same period the number of books that belonged to the cathedral church in Hólar rose from 234 to 332. Almost two-thirds of these had disappeared in 1550, shortly after the introduction of the Reformation. The number of

on the northern outskirts of western Europe. The same religious orders and the same religious structures – church provinces and chapters general, for example – shaped religious life in both countries. Common languages could be found throughout Scandinavia. Latin was the medium of communication within the church, while commercial life, residents of towns, and much of the bureaucracy used Middle Low German, the lingua franca of the Baltic region and the first language of the Hanse merchants.⁴ Differences amongst the Scandinavian countries were expressed in various ways: in the ‘nations’ established at the University of Paris or the monastic order founded by Saint Birgitta of Sweden in the fourteenth century, for example. Chronologically, this study covers the period from the mid-1450s to 1525.⁵ The end date, although not connected with a specific event, marks something of a peak in a decade of change for Scandinavia. The political union had been dissolved, intellectual life, and with it the acquisition of books, was in decline, and with the arrival of the Reformation, traditional links with medieval Catholic Europe were about to be broken.⁶ Scandinavian book culture supports the identification of 1525 as the endpoint of the pre-Reformation period: the number of Danish students enrolled in the university at Rostock dropped in the period between 1521 and 1525;⁷ in the years 1523 to 1526, no books were printed in Denmark; acquisitions by Västerås cathedral library fell in the 1520s to their lowest level since the 1480s.⁸

books in the library of the Augustine friars’ monastery in Möðruvellir dropped from 127 in 1461 to 76 in 1525. The introduction of printing in 1530 brought the medieval Catholic book history of Iceland to an end; see Guðrún Kvaran, ‘Die Anfänge der Buchdruckerkunst in Island und die isländische Bibel von 1584’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 72 (1997), 140–147.

- 4 Kurt Braunmüller, ‘Semikommunikation und semiotische Strategien: Bausteine zu einem Modell für die Verständigung im Norden zur Zeit der Hanse’, in *Niederdeutsch und die skandinavischen Sprachen*, vol. 2, ed. Kurt Braunmüller (Heidelberg 1995), 35–70. Helmut Glück, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit* (Berlin 2002).
- 5 As late as the early twentieth century, the incunabula period was thought to have continued in Scandinavia up to 1525. A more recent discussion of the dating of the end of the Middle Ages in Scandinavia can be found in Alf Härdelin, *Världen som yta och fönster: spiritualitet i medeltidens Sverige* (Stockholm 2005), 25–28.
- 6 The national bibliographies of Sweden and Denmark reveal a remarkable drop in the number of printed works brought into both countries shortly after 1526.
- 7 Ellen Jörgensen, ‘Nogle Bemaerkninger om danske studerende ved Tysklands Universiteter i Middelalderen’, *Historisk Tidsskrift* 8, no. 6 (1915–1917), 203.
- 8 Åke Åberg, *Västerås domkyrkas bibliotek år 1640 efter Petrus Olai Dalekarlus’ katalog* (Västerås 1973), 142.

Research into the earliest period of Scandinavian printed-book history largely came to a halt after the middle of the twentieth century. The last generation of academically trained librarians with an interest in early Scandinavian book history retired in the 1960s. As half a millennium of Swedish books was celebrated in 1983, it became evident that book history had not advanced markedly in recent decades.⁹ Five years later, on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the first book printed for the Finnish market (it had been commissioned by Finland's bishop), articles on research into Finnish book history demonstrated the same lacuna.¹⁰ In Denmark book history has thrived, located mainly at Det Kongelige Bibliotek, the national library, but in Denmark too, the 500th anniversary of book publishing did not see any challenge to traditional scholarly interpretations of early book history.¹¹

This study concentrates on the transnational complexities of late medieval and early modern Scandinavian book history, a topic that has been almost entirely neglected in Scandinavian book historiography. From the second half of the nineteenth century until recent years, scholarly interest has been in either the national dimension or the history of printing, libraries, and collections. The blunt national perspective was driven by a sense that Scandinavian countries had come up short compared to more central European regions.¹²

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- 9 Sten G. Lindberg, 'Vår äldsta svenska boktryckerihistoria enligt senare forskning', in Gustaf Edward Klemming, *Svensk boktryckerihistoria 1483–1883* (Stockholm 1983), 11–14. Sten G. Lindberg, *The Art of the Book in Sweden: Five Centuries of Printing* (Stockholm 1983). Per S. Ridderstad, 'De första boktryckarna – konsthantverkare eller storföretagare?', *Daedalus* (1983), 7–15. Per S. Ridderstad, 'Swedish Book History Research 1990–2005', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Bibliotekshistoria* 86, no. 2 (2002), 317–332.
 - 10 Jarl Pousar, 'Bibliophilie in Finnland', in *Bibliophilie und Buchgeschichte in Finnland*, ed. Esko Häkli and Friedhilde Krause (Helsinki 1988), 80–88. Claes Zilliacus, *Boken i bruk: föreläsningar hållna i samband med firandet av Boken i Finland 500 år* (Turku/Åbo 1989). Esko Häkli, ed., *Boken i Finland: utställning i Nationalmuseet i anledning av bokens jubileumsår* (Helsinki 1988). Esko Häkli, 'Bartholomäus Ghotan, der Drucker des ersten Buchs Finnlands', *Librarium* 31 (1988), 156–169. Esko Häkli, 'Research in the History of the Book and Libraries in Finland since the Beginning of the 1980s', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Bibliotekshistoria* 86, no. 2 (2002), 204–247.
 - 11 Elisabeth Eide, 'Twenty Years of the History of the Book and of Library History in Norway', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Bibliotekshistoria* 86, no. 2 (2002), 286–316. Mikael Venge, 'Gutenberg og 1400-tallets Europa', *Bogvennen* (1982), 9–20, addresses the only Norwegian pre-Reformation book, a missal printed in Copenhagen, which may have been published in connection with the Danish anniversary.
 - 12 National interests certainly have motivated not only popular accounts but also the treatment of early Swedish printed works and academic research; see, for example,

Swedish or Danish book histories told of a longing for texts and books set within unfavourable preconditions at the margins of Europe and of the people of sparsely populated countries close to the polar circle pinching and scraping to bring craftsmen to print valuable and expensive liturgical books. In general, Scandinavian book history was written not as the history of books in Scandinavia regardless of their place of printing, but as the history of printing in Scandinavia. Not that there was much printing, for even in Denmark and Sweden, the only countries in which printers were established, printing enterprises were usually short lived. The leading Scandinavian book historians – Gustav Edvard Klemming, Isak Collijn, Lauritz Nielsen and Victor Madsen – managed, however, to publish magnificent national bibliographies¹³ and perhaps in an attempt to bridge the divide to contemporary European book history, they also drew up magisterial incunabula catalogues.¹⁴ In Sweden, Collijn in particular but also Klemming published articles dealing with the history of collections. The finest example is a series of articles published by Collijn between 1902 and 1906 in the periodical *Sammlaren* that aimed to reconstruct a number of Swedish medieval collections.¹⁵

Another guiding principle in Scandinavian book history concerns the primacy of the text and of national literary history. More recently though, there has been something of a rediscovery of interest in the earliest periods of Scandinavian book history, evinced, for example, by the history of the Danish book trade by Aleksander Frøland, a work with a comparably wide geographical and infrastructural perspective.¹⁶ Frøland follows standard practice, however, by beginning with the introduction of printing to Denmark in 1482 before stressing the significance of imported books.¹⁷ Recent authors have brought new approaches to this field, drawing on the methods of analytical bibliography, the history of reading and the sociology of the book, for example.

Isak Collijn, 'Blad ur vår äldsta svenska boktryckerihistoria', *Nordisk boktryckarekonst* (1905–1907, 1934–1948).

13 Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Sveriges bibliografi 1481–1600*. Vol. 1: 1481–1530 (Stockholm 1927).

Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*. Vol. 1: 1478–1530 (Stockholm 1927).

14 Isak Collijn, 'Återfunna fragment af den äldsta tryckta upplagan af Dithmarscher Landrecht', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 2 (1915), 105–110. Victor Madsen, *Katalog over Det Kongelige biblioteks inkunabler*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen 1931–1963).

15 Isak Collijn, 'Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden och deras ägare', 4 parts, *Sammlaren* 23 (1902), 125–130; 24 (1903), 125–140; 25 (1904), 205–213; 27 (1906), 99–105.

16 Aleksander Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie 1482–1945* (Copenhagen 1974); the absence of information on sources in this work is frustrating.

17 *Ibid.*, 28–33.

A milestone is Henrik Horstbøll's magisterial statistical account and analysis of popular print culture in early modern Denmark, which covers the period from 1500 to 1840 and the end of the hand-press era.¹⁸ Yet Horstbøll's book is limited by the strictures of national book history, as is the work of the majority of Scandinavian book historians, where we find only a few individual attempts to gain an international perspective. The problem is not limited to book historians. As art historian Jan von Bonsdorff has stated, 'They [art historians] neither ask for or get much help from related academic disciplines which seem to suffer more or less from the same deficiencies'.¹⁹

Scandinavian print history has failed not only to consider books that were not printed in Scandinavia or commissioned by Scandinavian customers, but also to engage with interdisciplinary approaches and whole fields of academic research, such as economic history. Twenty years ago Sverker Sörlin warned book historians that accounts of books imported into Sweden were lacking,²⁰ expressing a desideratum of Scandinavian book history in general. This book seeks to right that wrong and in the process to further our understanding of early Scandinavian book culture in general.

18 Henrik Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie: Det folkelige boktryck i Danmark 1500–1840 – En kulturhistorisk undersøgelse* (Copenhagen 1999).

19 Jan von Bonsdorff, 'Is Art a Barometer of Wealth? Medieval Art Exports for the North of Europe', in *Art Markets in Europe 1400–1800*, ed. Michael North and David Omrod (Seville 1998), 41–54. See also Per Ingesman and Thomas Lindkvist, 'Norden og Europa i middelalderen', in *Rapporter til Det 24. Nordiske Historikermøde, Århus, 9.–13. August 2001*. Vol. 1: *Norden og Europa i middelalderen*, ed. Per Ingesman and Thomas Lindkvist (Århus 2001), 18–19.

20 Sverker Sörlin, *De lärdsas republik – om vetenskapens internationella tendenser* (Malmö 1994), 85.

Printing in and for Scandinavia before the Reformation

Before the Reformation, books and other printed works were produced in only two Scandinavian countries, Denmark and Sweden.¹ The number of titles was small, but as a result early printing in Scandinavia has been thoroughly documented in elaborate national bibliographies and in a number of articles that appeared between the 1880s and the 1940s. In considering Scandinavian pre-Reformation printing history, this chapter will look in particular at the character of the local presses, with each account of domestic printing accompanied by an evaluation of the books commissioned by local institutions or individual Scandinavian customers. The picture that emerges sets the stage for a discussion of the importation of books. The analysis of domestic and foreign markets for printed works that characterizes this chapter rests on foundations different from those of earlier works. Today it is impossible to write a history of early Scandinavian printing without repeated reference to continental printing and the arrival of books in Scandinavia from, among other printing centres, Strasbourg, Venice, Nuremberg and Paris, which were at the centre of the 'Latin trade'.²

The Scandinavian pre-Reformation printing market was small not in terms of the number of potential book owners or readers, but in terms of the number of printed works and genres produced. All early printed works in Swedish were printed in Sweden, just as the majority of pre-Reformation texts in Danish – apart from the Danish texts produced by Christiern Pedersen during his years in Paris – were produced in Denmark. As we have little information about print runs in Scandinavia or about the survival rates of these books, it is hard to sketch broadly the quantitative dimensions of the Scandinavian market for printed works. Bartholomaeus Ghotan produced 170 copies of his *Missale Strengnense* of 1487; one complete copy and fragments of another six have

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- 1 Hans Sallander, *Medeltidens boktryckerihistoria* (Stockholm 1959). Knut Helle, *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*. Vol. 1: *Prehistory to 1520* (Cambridge 2003) contains useful general remarks on the cultural, literary and book history of medieval Scandinavia. *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, 2 vols., ed. Michael F. Suarez and H.R. Woudhuysen (Oxford 2010) contains up-to-date accounts that are both broad and detailed.
 - 2 Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London 2010), 3.

survived. The Danish *Missale Lundense* published in Paris under the supervision of Christiern Pedersen was produced in 650 copies on paper and 150 copies on vellum, with five copies sent to Pedersen as late as 1520; less than 1% of the total edition has survived.³ St Birgitta's *Revelationes* were printed in 1492 with 800 copies on paper and sixteen copies on vellum. Seven copies are known to have been destroyed in the fire at Vadstena monastery in 1495. Both proof sheets as well as thirty-seven copies either complete or in part are extant today, which is an exceptional survival rate of more than 23%. At least 100 copies of the *Missale Aboense* for the diocese of Turku/Åbo must have been produced. Twenty-two copies have reportedly survived, almost all only in part, which suggests a survival rate of more than 20%. In comparison, Henrik Roelvink estimates that 570 copies of the *Missale ordinis Fratrum Minorum* of 1504 were printed, a work used by northern European Franciscans.⁴

The print run for the edition of a text was determined by the size of the target audience and the nature of the text itself. A list of books that were to be delivered to Pedersen in Malmö in 1520 throws useful light on the size of print runs and the volume of the book trade with regard to material intended for Danish consumption in the early years of the Reformation. The list notes 235 copies of the *Horae in Danica lingua* and also 102 psalters bound in vellum and 199 copies of the *Breviarium Lundense*, two substantial texts. Other titles were much smaller in scale and format, but even more popular. The list notes 977 copies of the *Historia s. Clementis*, which was a supplement to the *Breviarium Lundense*,⁵ 264 copies of an 'oraria in Danica lingua', 325 copies of an 'abcdaria ligata in pergamenno', and finally 736 copies of a schoolbook called *Alphabeta*; all these small-format printed works were obviously aimed at a much wider market.

In the long run, the years that saw the introduction of the Reformation and the establishment of national states in Scandinavia had a tremendous and negative effect on book collections. Both large collections and individual books

3 In Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek; Linköping, Stiftsbiblioteket; Lund University Library; and Uppsala University Library. Fragments of a fifth copy are reportedly in the National Archives of Norway.

4 Henrik Roelvink, 'De nordiska franciskanernas missale från 1504', *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 92 (1992), 117–130, here 126.

5 [*Historia divi Clementis*] *De sancto Clemente ad vespas antiphona*, supplement to *Breviarium Lundense* (Paris: Jean Philippe, 1517). Historians have yet to incorporate the import of nearly 1000 printed copies of this vita into analysis of the reception of the legend of St Clemens in Scandinavia; see Dietrich Hofmann, *Die Legende von Sankt Clemens in den skandinavischen Ländern im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main 1997).

were destroyed in the turmoil of the Danish civil war or in the aftermath of the establishment of the Vasa dynasty, for example, leaving the historian of libraries with only a fraction of the sources that were once available. The extent of the loss has had marked impact on Scandinavian book history. Several printed works either executed in Scandinavia or published abroad but intended for the Scandinavian market have been preserved only in part. One such example is the *Agenda Othoniensis*, printed in Lübeck by either Johann Snell or Matthaeus Brandis between 1483 and 1486.⁶ One complete copy of this liturgical manual is still extant, along with a small number of fragments that had usually been employed as reinforcement in contemporary bindings.⁷ None of these bindings were of contemporary Scandinavian provenance, although several of them are now in Scandinavian libraries. One binding dated 1495 and now in Copenhagen contains a copy of the *Commentaria in omnes epistolas Sancti Pauli* by Thomas Aquinas that was printed in Basel in 1495; the binding is of German provenance.⁸ Two copies of leaf eiii of the *Agenda Othoniensis* were extracted from a binding acquired by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie in the seventeenth century that contains a copy of Horatius Flaccus' *Opera* printed in Strasbourg in 1498 by Johann Grüninger.⁹

Other printed works have disappeared completely. Sometimes traces of such texts remain, but a significant problem is presented by works that have left no mark. Printed material that has vanished entirely probably fell into categories of texts that were heavily used and therefore most likely to wear out. Such works included liturgical books, letters of indulgence, school texts, broadsheets and woodcuts. Only on rare occasions are we able to trace books that do not appear in the national bibliographies.

The history of printing in and for Scandinavia before the Reformation has been written in substantial detail and at great length for more than a century now. But for the last half century little that is new has been uncovered and

6 Isak Collijn, 'Det äldsta svenska trycket? Ett nyfunnet Remigius-fragment', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 10 (1923), 1–23.

7 Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi: med saerlig hensyn til dansk boktrykkerkunstens historie*, 5 vols. (Copenhagen 1919–1996), vol. 3 suppl. 41 no. 4a. Nielsen misses the fragments in Uppsala University Library (in a binding dated 1498) and in Hamburg (in a binding dated 1499) to which Collijn refers in his 'Det äldsta svenska trycket?', 12.

8 Madsen, *Inkunabler*, 3891.

9 Wolfgang Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century in Swedish Collections* (Wiesbaden 2012), no. 1977. The National Library of Sweden holds a number of such fragments on both vellum and paper that were donated to the library by the Stadtbibliothek in Lübeck in 1923; *ibid.*, no. 35.

existing knowledge has in effect become booklore. This work is not just another epigonic overview of Scandinavian pre-Reformation book history but focuses, on the one hand, on the statistics of printing and genres, and on the other hand, on the dynamics of printing in Scandinavia and printing for Scandinavia and their relationship. When printing arrived in Scandinavia, it was already almost thirty years old. Printing and the book trade had developed substantially during these decades, yet those who ordered most of the earliest Scandinavian books, although not unaware of the existence of major book centres in western Europe that produced books mainly for export, seem to have behaved like customers in Germany or Italy at the beginning of the era of print. The first phase of book production was determined by the encounter between late medieval manuscript culture and early modern printing, and in response, foreign printers were invited to Denmark or Sweden to print specially commissioned books on the spot.

As soon as Scandinavian institutions and individuals had learned the ways of the business of printing, however, responses changed rapidly and fundamentally. The international Latin book trade proved reliable, able to cover both short and long distances. Printers and sellers who could serve the Scandinavian market advertised books produced not only in the printing centres of Germany, but also in Paris, Lyons and Venice. Printed books were transformed into a trade product with qualities that reached far beyond the local context. Soon cost and quality decided where books intended for Scandinavian markets would be printed, with the only exception, at least at the beginning of the development of a regional or national book culture, texts in the vernacular that were characteristic of the ephemeral production of small local printers. Before long, however, the demand for printed vernacular works also led to the establishment and development of national print cultures. Books in the vernacular could also be printed abroad, depending on individual initiatives as well as the political climate and domestic censorship; Latin books could be printed everywhere. The ordering of Scandinavian literature from foreign printers is to some degree indicative of the level of development of a regional or national book culture.

No books were printed in Norway, Iceland or Finland before the Reformation, countries that were politically weak and dependent on their home countries, that is, on Denmark and Sweden. For this reason, books printed for Norway or Finland will be included in the chapters on Denmark or Sweden respectively. Sweden, while formally part of the united Scandinavian kingdoms and ruled by the Danish crown, displayed a cultural self-confidence that encouraged the growth of an independent book culture. Additionally, during the pre-Reformation period Sweden, in almost constant revolt against – or at least trying to emancipate itself from – the Danish Crown, was an assured and wealthy

presence on the north European book market. Norway and Finland were each dominated by a single cultural centre – Trondheim (Nidaros) in Norway, Turku/Åbo in Finland. By contrast, Sweden and Denmark developed rich literary and book cultures emanating from a wide range of large and wealthy institutions and individual actors. Dioceses, bishops, clerics and monasteries, and also a number of laymen and laywomen, participated in active book worlds, as is evident in their involvement in the north German and, more broadly, western European book markets. A particular feature of Scandinavian pre-Reformation book culture is the printing of Scandinavian texts (in Latin) abroad. Decisions to follow this path, as we will see, were usually based on rational considerations and experience of the genres, quality and price of books produced by European printers.

The Scandinavian domestic printing market was apparently small and lacked continuity, breadth and volume. Some of the consequences of these limitations will be evident in the analysis of books printed abroad on behalf of Scandinavian customers. There is usually no chronological or causative connection between the appearance of printed books in Scandinavia and the appearance of book printers in Scandinavia. The book trade was established long before local resident printers set up shop.¹⁰ Liturgical books were printed in Scandinavia under the direct supervision of the church, with the immediate presence of and control by clerics thought to heighten the quality of the book produced. It was not a prime goal of church leaders to bring printers into their home areas and help them become established,¹¹ but sooner or later, printers established long-lived presses in Scandinavia, even if politics, the church and the markets were decisive for regional differentiations.

Denmark, geographically closest to the European continent, was at least one step ahead of the rest of Scandinavia in establishing the first domestic print shop, but for most of the period Sweden and Denmark ran neck and neck. The first products of Gutenberg's printing press reached Denmark and Sweden almost at the same time, in the middle of the 1450s: a letter of indulgence printed in 1454 by Gutenberg after he had broken with Fust was issued to a Danish canon, apparently in Denmark,¹² while a vellum copy of the Gutenberg

10 This chronology is typical. In Germany numerous booksellers became printers later in their careers. See, for example, Johann Bämle in Augsburg; Heinrich Grimm, 'Die Buchführer des deutschen Kulturbereichs und ihre Niederlassungsorte in der Zeitspanne 1490 bis um 1550', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 7 (1965–1967), 1153–1932, here 1278.

11 Ibid., 1288.

12 Horstbøll, *Menigmænds medie*, 110–111.

Bible arrived at Vadstena monastery some time during the second half of the 1450s. The first printers in Scandinavia reached Denmark and Sweden almost simultaneously in the first half of the 1480s. Distances between printing and trade centres, on the one hand, and Scandinavian towns and monasteries, on the other hand, did have some influence upon the distribution of books, but differences in cultural infrastructure, such as the involvement of publisher-patrons, seem to have been much more decisive for the development of regional or national book markets. Changes in the European book trade itself were an additional impact factor. Its dynamism forced those involved to strive constantly for expansion in order to find markets for newly printed books, secure steady income for printing shops and guarantee revenue for publishers and their financial partners. Additionally, printed books, especially when they were of good quality, available in high numbers and at low prices and suited for special markets, created a rush for more books of the same kind as well as for new books.

Scandinavian book markets, trade and collections were not subject only to geographical or economic variables. Certainly, a part was played by the freezing of the Baltic in winter and the comparably low level of urbanisation, to which climate, agriculture and the small population contributed, but book cultures were more significantly affected by variables such as the number of dioceses and cathedral chapters, the presence of monasteries and universities, knowledge of the market and the fortunes of individuals. When historical, political or specific variables were bundled in the hands of an individual or an institution, the development of Scandinavian book markets could easily be dominated by a single actor or well-defined group of actors.

For about three decades following the introduction of printing, the Scandinavian book markets and Scandinavian books printed abroad were usually closely connected to the north German market, with its centre in Lübeck. The 1510s are deserving of our particular attention, however, for Paris temporarily dominated the Danish book market. Although the products of the Parisian printing shops were demonstrably well-known in Sweden, only at the very end of the period of this study is there evidence of approaches from Sweden to French printers made for specific geographical or political reasons.¹³

13 In a letter dated 1524, Bishop Hans Brask asked an agent to investigate the cost of a breviary along the lines of Christiern Pedersen's *Horae beate virginis* = *Vor Frue Tider*, printed in Paris by Josse Badius Ascensius in 1514. See the discussion of this episode later in this chapter.

Printing Danish Books

According to the Danish national bibliography, 68 titles were printed in Denmark between 1482 and 1522.¹⁴ The pioneers of this business were almost exclusively German, along with, at a later stage, a Dutch printer. Altogether, seven printers were active in Denmark during this period. It was not until the Reformation that Danish craftsmen were able to take over the printing business, which was then essentially limited to Copenhagen, the capital. I have been able to augment the list of printers and printed works that appears in the Danish national bibliography by Simon Brandt (see pp. 36–47) with previously unknown prints extracted from the Malmö List (see chapter 2 pp. 87–103) and other archival sources (see chapter 6). The Malmö List contains three separate entries representing a total of fifty-eight copies of a *Diurnale Lundense* for the archdiocese of Lund. These titles are described by the writer of the inventory as ‘diurnalia ad usum Lundensem’ or ‘diurnalia Lundensis diocese’. No such title has yet been recorded by the Danish national bibliography, but the Malmö List provides incontrovertible evidence of the work’s existence, and it should therefore certainly be included in registers of Danish pre-Reformation book production.

Denmark was the first Scandinavian country to attract printers. Printing started outside Copenhagen, in the dioceses of Odense and Slesvig, and only in the 1490s was for the first time concentrated in the capital. After an intermezzo involving the provincial towns of Aarhus, Odense and Ribe around 1500, for the rest of the pre-Reformation period printing was again executed exclusively in Copenhagen. In 1482 Johann Snell came from Lübeck to establish a short-lived printing shop in Odense, called by Bishop Karl Rønnov to provide the first book ever printed in Denmark, the *Breviarium Ottoniense*. As was usual with such an engagement, Snell was able also to produce at least one minor text, which has survived: the Danish national bibliography records his production of a political pamphlet, *De obsidione et bello Rhodiano* by Guilhelmus Caoursin. The same pattern occurred some four years later, when Stephanus Arndes was

14 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*. The Danish national bibliography, which identifies printers and titles, is easily accessed both in print and electronically via the National Library of Denmark. New contributions are few (Lotte Hellinga and Wytze Hellinga, ‘Gotfred af Ghemens faerden ca. 1486–1510: en typologisk undersøgelse’, *Fund og forskning* 15 [1968], 7–38, 160–161. Ingrid Ilsøe, ‘Printing, Book Illustration, Bookbinding, and Book Trade in Denmark, 1482–1914: A Survey of the Most Important Contributions to the History of the Danish Book during the Last 35 Years’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* [1985], 258–280. Erik Dal, ‘Bücher in dänischer Sprache vor 1600’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* [1987], 37–46).

called from Lübeck to Slesvig, another provincial episcopal town, commissioned to print the *Missale Slesvicense*. From that sojourn, the Danish national bibliography reports the publication of two minor works, the *Dialogus Salomonis* and the *Remigius seu domine que pars*, both suitable texts for the local Latin school. Govert van Ghemen, the third printer in Denmark, was from the Netherlands and in 1493 took up residence in Copenhagen. His production shows the same general pattern as his predecessors, although his main contribution to the Danish national bibliography during his earliest period in Denmark, the first printed edition of *Den Danske Rimkrönike*, should probably not be regarded as the sole reason for the establishment of his printing shop. This edition has no indication of publisher-patron or institutional support. The *Rimkrönike* has been dated to 1495, while a number of pedagogical texts Ghemen printed have been dated two years earlier: three editions of the Donatus and one edition respectively of the *Fundamentum in grammaticae* and the *Regulae fundamentales artis grammaticae*. We can assume with some certainty that Govert van Ghemen must also have produced similar small prints in the years 1494 to 1495, although none have survived. According to Lotte and Wytze Hellinga, Govert van Ghemen moved back to Deventer in 1495 and did not return to Copenhagen until ten years later.¹⁵

After Govert van Ghemen returned to his home country, a number of itinerant printers visited Denmark for very short periods, staying only between one and three years. Apparently all of them came from Germany, although they include two unidentified printers. The years between 1498 and 1504 therefore form the most enigmatic phase of Danish early printing history. That period starts with two works dated by the Danish national bibliography to 1498, one attributed to an anonymous printer and one to either Melchior or Balthasar Blumme or their common press. Both works seem to have been produced in another Danish provincial town, Aarhus. The unknown printer might well have been one of the Blumme brothers, an assumption that appears more likely than the presence of another, as yet unknown, printer active in the same town and at the same time as the Blumme brothers. The book market in this minor provincial town was not large enough to support more than one printer at a time. Printing in Aarhus does not follow the pattern established by the first printers in Denmark, for the two printed works are popular texts and no commissioned liturgical print from the press of either the anonymous printer or the Blumme brothers has survived or is even known. They might therefore have been bookbinders or of other profession, with no backing from the church

15 Hellinga, 'Gottfred af Ghemens faerden'.

or a publisher-patron. The absence of such support may explain why it was twenty years before the brothers printed their next books.

The second named printer during this period, and apparently the best known, was Matthaeus Brandis, who was active in the Danish provincial town of Odense, also the seat of a bishop. Works from his press were previously attributed one of two cities, Ribe or Slesvig, and dated to 1502 and 1504, but new research suggests they were printed in Odense between 1501 and 1503, with Brandis publishing another text in Odense the following year. Brandis seems to have been commissioned to produce two major works in Odense, the *Missale Ottoniense* in 1501 and an edition of Saxo Grammaticus' Danish chronicle in 1502. Before these commissions were complete, he also managed to produce a number of minor works of different genres, including letters of confraternity and indulgence, and devotional and liturgical literature. In Odense he also produced liturgical handbooks and schoolbooks commissioned by the provost of Odense Cathedral, Hans Urne. Thereafter he moved to Ribe to print a book on Danish provincial law. After 1504, Brandis disappears from the printing scene, only to reappear six years later in Copenhagen; we do not know where he was or what he was doing during those six years. Between 1510 and 1512, the last stage of his career, Brandis followed an established pattern among printers by printing two liturgical handbooks only.

After his return in 1505 and up to the year 1510, Govert van Ghemen produced an impressive number of 26 titles, which included the second and third editions of *Den Danske Rimkrönike* and also early Danish law books, devotional books and popular literature such as two editions of the history *Flores og Blanseflor*. Even more interesting than the quantitative output of his press is the fact that Govert van Ghemen, as well as his successors Poul Raeff (1513–1519) and the re-established printing shop of Melchior and Balthasar Blumme (1519–1522), now approached the market somewhat differently. Although Raeff and the Blumme brothers produced their share of major liturgical handbooks, the establishment and output of their presses had ceased to be dependant in the first place upon ecclesiastical patronage. The minor and secular printed works produced by these printers no longer followed traditional patterns. Their production of contemporary Danish and European works – Raeff's output included devotional texts by the Danish priest Michel, and the Blumme brothers published editions of Sebastian Brant and Erasmus of Rotterdam – apparently no longer formed an interlude in the midst of printing commissions. The Danish book market had changed in a quite dramatic way. The three early sixteenth-century Danish presses served the market well with their substantial output of secular, especially historical and legal, works

as well as a surprisingly high number of texts in the vernacular. The character of their output is all the more astonishing when compared to material on the contemporary Swedish book market. This development, visible first in the production of Govert van Ghemen in Copenhagen during the first decade of the sixteenth century, was continued and raised to new heights by Christiern Pedersen in Paris during the 1510s (see chapter 2 p. 95). Poul Raeff became the last itinerant printer in Denmark in the pre-Reformation era when he moved his shop to Nyborg, where he printed a *Canon Roschildense* in 1522. Thereafter, no books were published anywhere in Denmark until 1526 (Table 1.1).

The Danish book production of 77 titles in the period 1482–1525 can be categorized as 51% religious and 49% secular.¹⁶ The liturgical books that made up 18% of the total output included five missals and two breviaries, including the *Missale Nidrosiense*, one of the earliest works printed for Norway, commissioned by Erik Valkendorf, bishop of Trondheim, from Poul Raeff in Copenhagen.¹⁷ All these works were in Latin, and they were almost exclusively in folio format. Fourteen per cent of the production is connected to the institutional church, its administration and its members and consists of occasional printed products such as two letters of indulgence and five letters of confraternity (printed as broadsheets). Devotional books, together with two editions of biblical texts – the two editions of the part orthodox, part apocryphal *Evangelium Nicodemi* of 1514 and the translation by Erasmus of the *Evangelium Matthaei* of 1522 – account for a further 16%. Here we also find a strong popular element, as nine of the fourteen titles are in Danish. The smallest group (3%) contains two editions of parts of the Bible.

The rest of pre-Reformation Danish book production can be assigned to secular categories. The largest quantity, 17%, contains texts for use in Latin schools, among others the always popular *Donatus minor*, with at least three

16 To facilitate quantitative and qualitative analysis of domestic print cultures and to enable comparison of regional markets, imported books and collections, I have organised works into broader categories. The majority of the theological works have been divided as follows: 'Bible' includes editions of the whole Bible as well as of its main parts; 'devotional' consists of prayer books and other works associated with spiritual practice; 'ecclesiastical' contains works that deal with or are a product of the administration of the church, including letters of indulgence and confraternity and constitutions; 'liturgical' covers books addressing the rites of worship. 'Secular' literature has been divided into historical works, humanist editions, legal books, political texts, educational works (schoolbooks), scientific literature and popular texts.

17 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 128. Karin-Helen R. Hognestad, *Det trykte ord – bokens historie i Norge* (Oslo 2000).

TABLE 1.1 *Domestic Danish book production 1482–1525 in figures.*

Content	Number of titles	As percentage of total production
<i>Religious literature:</i>	39	51
Bible	2	3
Devotional	12	16
Ecclesiastical	11	14
Liturgical	14	18
<i>Secular literature:</i>	38	49
History	5	6
Humanistic	2	3
Law	6	8
Politics	5	6
Schoolbooks	13	17
Scientific	2	3
Popular	5	6
Total	77	100

editions.¹⁸ As all these texts would have suffered wear and tear, generating a constant demand from the public – the works listed here must represent a minimum number only – we will never know exactly how many schoolbooks printed in Denmark have disappeared through the centuries. An impressively large category is formed by law books (8%). The collection of maritime laws known as *Dat gotlansche Waterrecht*, published in 1505, was of importance for the whole Baltic area and was therefore printed in Low German. The 1504 and 1508 editions of the laws of the province of Jutland, the *Expositiones circa leges Jutiae*, are partly in Latin. The remaining texts are in Danish only. Popular literature (6%) covers entertaining texts in Danish such as *Flores og Blanseflor*, a translation of a popular chivalric romance (two editions), and the *Parabola*e by the Danish author Peder Laale. Among the surprisingly high number of history books (the five editions make up 6% of the total output), we find three editions of the Danish chronicle *Den Danske Rimkrönike*, along with two other

18 Govert van Ghemen printed a Donatus and two *Fundamentum* on commission and at the expense of Peder Albertsen, professor at Copenhagen University; Sten Ebbesen, *Den danske filosofis historie: Dansk middelalderfilosofi ca. 1170–1536* (Copenhagen 2002), 239.

chronicles. Three of five texts connected to the contemporary political situation (such works made up 6% of the total) emanated from the continuing threat of Ottoman military expansion in the Mediterranean and were published by printers busy with larger projects involving liturgical books. The earliest work is a description of the siege of Rhodes, published in 1482 in connection with an on-going campaign to raise money to support a crusade against the Turks. Only one text is related to Danish politics, Mathias Gabler's *Epistolae in laudem Christiani II.* of 1521. The last groups are the most artificial and the most diverse. The category termed scientific literature (3%) contained a calendar (*Horarium* of 1505) and a text on astrology (a 1498 edition entitled *De tolv Maaneders Tegn*); the category with texts serving a humanistically educated public (3%) consisted of an edition of Erasmus' *Familiarum colloquiorum formulae* and the *Adelphorum comoedia* by the classical Roman author Terence, both printed in Copenhagen at the end of the period, in 1522, by Balthasar Blumme.

The number and content of Danish books printed abroad is closely connected not only with contemporary printing in Denmark but also with the Danish book market, cultural institutions and publisher-patrons. The names of the towns in which books were printed for the Danish market together with the chronology of their appearance reveal dynamic processes and a complex causality (Table 1.2).

TABLE 1.2 *Printers who produced Danish works abroad.*

Year	Place	Printer
1483–1504	Lübeck	Johann Snell. Lucas Brandis. Matthaeus Brandis. Stephanus Arndes
1484	Mainz	Peter Schöffner
1510	Basel	Jacob von Pforzheim
1510–1520	Paris	Jean Barbier. Thomas Kees & Guillaume Marchand. Wolfgang Hopyl. Unknown printer. Josse Badius Ascensius. Jean Philippe. Jean Kerbriant & Jean Bieanayse
1513	Germany	Unknown printer
1514	Cologne	Heinrich Quentell sons
1516–1524	Leipzig	Valentin Schumann. Melchior Lotter
1519–1524	Rostock	Michaelis-Brüder. Ludwig Dietz
1523	Zwickau	Johann Schönsperger & Jörg Gastel
1525	Germany	Unknown

Lübeck was the first town in northern Europe to attract both printers and booksellers. For its commercial success, printing in Lübeck relied on stable demographic and cultural interests. Lübeck was the principal German centre for trade with Scandinavia in the pre-Reformation era, and during the first decades in which books for Denmark were printed outside Denmark, the dominance of Lübeck was virtually unbroken. The contacts between Denmark and Lübeck-based printers are in keeping with long-established trading practices based upon personal contact. The existence of such established patterns made long-distance collaboration between Danish publisher-patrons and Lübeck-based printers easier, with printers invited to Danish towns or works commissioned from their print shops in Lübeck. Other than Lucas Brandis, all Lübeck printers who were involved in printing Danish literature visited Denmark once or twice during their careers to print books there. Personal contacts, either from everyday Baltic trade or between fellow expatriates (the printer Stephanus Arndes and Leno Leven, the son of Laurens Leven, Arndes' business partner in Lübeck between 1485/1486 and 1493/1494, became acquainted as students at the University of Perugia in the 1470s), led to book commissions both in Lübeck and Denmark or even to close business associations. This element of Danish book history is essentially north German and Hanseatic in character. Isolated commissions of books from other continental European towns, such as Mainz in 1484 or Basel in 1510, are singular events that do not have a significant impact on the overall pattern of the first three decades of printing for the Danish market.

A fragment of a Danish-language prayer book, apparently a proof sheet, was found in 1944 in Roskilde Cathedral Library by Gunnar Skov.¹⁹ This fragment was registered in the 1996 supplement to Nielsen's Danish bibliography as a German printed work from before 1514, and probably from between 1510 and 1513, a period during which no printer was active in Denmark except for Govert van Ghemen in Copenhagen, who finished printing in 1510.²⁰ With no printers active in Denmark, German printers provided an obvious alternative. The work in question seems to have been a Book of Hours dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Christiern Pedersen used this work as a model for his own version of the Book of Hours, entitled *Vor Frue Tider* and printed in Paris in 1514.²¹ A copy of the German work must have reached Pedersen in Paris in time to allow him to

19 Gunnar Skov, 'Fragment af en Tidebog fra Begyndelsen af det 16. Aarhundrede', *Kirkehistoriske samlinger* 6, no. 5 (1945–1947), 241–248.

20 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, suppl. 48 no. 36a.

21 *Ibid.*, 212.

adapt it into his own 1514 version, and it therefore seems likely that this German prayer book was printed not after 1510.

From 1510, a new pattern dominated Danish book history for almost a decade. In the decade after 1510, Paris was the most important foreign participant in Danish book culture. While four printers in Lübeck produced nine titles over a little more than twenty years, seven Parisian printing shops produced sixteen titles in less than half that time. Most of these titles were printed in the first half of the 1510s, commissioned by Christiern Pedersen. French manuscripts had been acquired by Scandinavian students previously,²² but manuscripts had never been produced specifically for the Danish market. The switch to France must be chalked up to Pedersen. He had moved to Paris in 1508 and after finishing his studies, he continued as a teacher at the university. He had experienced the beginning of the turn of the Danish market towards works in the vernacular, produced by Govert van Ghemen in Copenhagen since 1505, taking an active part in the development of this market by selling books.²³ While the Danish market continued to produce devotional and popular literature in Danish, Pedersen supported this development with didactical, devotional and liturgical works. His ability to engage the highly efficient printing shops of Paris in producing books in the Danish language for the Danish market is astonishing. This production required, for example, the creation of Danish typeface. The willingness of Parisian printers to engage in producing books for a distant market is also striking and was supported by the existence of an infrastructure that made such long-distance book trade possible. The variety of printers who worked for Pedersen, and later for Danish and Norwegian institutional customers, bears witness to the fact that Paris, like Venice three decades earlier, was a centre of European printing.

After Pedersen left Paris, the majority of the Danish printed material produced by the printing shops of Paris was liturgical. Until recently, we knew only of the works registered in the Danish national bibliography, such as the breviaries for Lund and Roskilde and the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* for the diocese of Trondheim in Norway.²⁴ Erik Valkendorf, bishop of Trondheim, took advantage of both his personal acquaintance with Parisian printers (he had been a student in Paris) and their well-established trade relations with Denmark. He commissioned Kerbriant and Bieanayse to print the *Breviarium*

22 Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500* (Turnhout 2000).

23 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1567.

24 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 28.

Nidrosiense,²⁵ and the introduction to this breviary was also printed, or at least sold, separately.²⁶ From the aforementioned Malmö inventory of books we also learn of a title that has so far gone unnoticed by Danish book history: the *Diurnale Lundense*. Chronologically, that work might be placed somewhere between the last years of Pedersen's Parisian sojourn (the *Missale Lundense* was printed in 1514) and later commissions of Danish liturgical books from printers in Paris (such as the *Breviarium Lundense* of 1517).

Almost immediately after Pedersen left Paris, a large number of commissions for smaller format books – unlike larger format books, these works were often intended for daily and private use – were given to printers in the German city of Leipzig, where between 1516 and 1524, ten titles for the Danish market were produced by just two printers. This new engagement with emerging north German printing centres such as Leipzig displays the Danish market's awareness of developments closer to home and provides a marked contrast with the Parisian era. Another fourteen titles, which included more ephemeral printed works relating to current affairs, were produced between 1519 and 1525 in minor printing towns in northern Germany such as Zwickau and Rostock. Technical or aesthetic quality seems to have been less significant to these decisions than geographical proximity – and therefore speed of delivery – and personal relationships.

Lübeck's dominant role within north German printing stemmed above all from its pivotal position within networks of distribution. A highly developed and complex network of trading routes enabled printers to move in and out of the city and the region. Their work in Lübeck, Denmark or Sweden was something of business as usual for late fifteenth-century Lübeck-based printers. It was some time before printing in Lübeck was firmly enough established to bring the era of the itinerant printer to an end. During that period the ability and willingness of Danish customers to order books from abroad had grown considerably. Since the invention of printing, book prices had fallen continuously but quality had improved, and local printers and customers alike took their place within complex national and international trade contexts. The result was a process that might be described as mutual professionalisation of printers and customers.

From the beginning, demand for liturgical books was at the forefront of Danish book culture. As in Sweden, the printing of liturgical books was initially a domestic business. Very soon, however, such printing was executed predominantly abroad, although Danish printing shops were again producing liturgical

25 Sverre Bagge, *Da boken kom til Norge: Norsk idéhistorie. Vol. 1: 1000–1537* (Oslo 2001), 23.

26 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 17 commentaries to no. 28.

material at the end of the pre-Reformation period. Among the earliest Danish liturgical books, the *Missale Slesvicense* was printed in part in Slesvig and in part in Lübeck, as was also the 1486 edition of the *Breviarium Slesvicense* (see pp. 29–3). Between 1483 and 1504, no liturgical books were printed in Denmark, but four of the six editions printed between 1504 and 1510 were produced in Denmark. In the 1510s, Paris had a near monopoly on the production of liturgical handbooks for the Danish market, producing nine editions between 1511 and 1519, a period in which only three editions were produced in Denmark. The era of pre-Reformation printing ended in Denmark with three editions of liturgical works produced within three years, between 1520 and 1522.

Devotional printing largely comprised prayer books, pamphlets with the histories of saints and Books of Hours. During the first three decades of printing in Denmark, such works appear to have been produced locally, at least as far as we know from the few editions (eight at least) that have survived. In the second decade of the sixteenth century, however, this material, like the liturgical works just discussed, was largely produced outside Denmark, with eight editions published in Leipzig and Paris and only three small texts by a Danish author, Michael, produced by Poul Ræff in Copenhagen in the mid-1510s. Most of the devotional texts produced in Paris and Leipzig had been written by Christiern Pedersen. Pedersen's literary and book production was well received in both Denmark and Sweden.²⁷

The earliest titles of political literature were printed in Denmark, emanating mainly from the international movement in support of a crusade against the Turks. Danish political printing gained a new impetus, however, with the civil strife of the 1520s, which was focused on King Christian II and Duke Frederik. The first of fourteen works was published in Copenhagen and sang the praises of the then-reigning king, Christian II. But Christian II lost his crown and went into exile, and subsequent texts were aimed at a European audience and sought to explain why Duke Frederik had been elected king of Denmark. These thirteen works were printed within three years, between 1523 and 1525, in Germany, in Rostock, Zwickau and Leipzig.

27 A decade later, King Gustav Vasa of Sweden complained that the Book of Hours printed by Pedersen in Paris 1514 (the reference may be to the second edition, printed in Leipzig in 1517) was too widespread in Sweden in light of its dubious Roman Catholic content; *Middelalderens danske bønnebøger*, vol. 1, ed. Karl Martin Nielsen (Copenhagen 1946), XXIX. One of these two editions was the model for Richolff's Swedish Book of Hours, printed in 1525; see Ingela Hedström, 'Medeltidens svenska bönböcker: Kvinnligt skriftbruk i Vadstena kloster' (PhD thesis, Oslo 2009), 331.

While all but one law book and books on Danish history were printed in Denmark, schoolbooks followed a pattern similar to that of liturgical literature. All schoolbooks intended for a Danish audience published between 1486 and 1503 were published in Denmark by printers who were also engaged in printing liturgical works, but of the thirteen extant titles published between 1510 and 1520, nine were printed abroad.

Domestic printing in Denmark was a business with both strengths and weaknesses. An exclusively national approach would make it difficult, if not impossible, to understand the character of Danish printing. Even a brief look at foreign presses' share of categories of books produced in this period allows us to draw conclusions about the Danish market's relationship with foreign publishers and printers and about the characteristics of domestic printing that were shaped by foreign Danish print production (Table 1.3).

Almost half of the total output of the domestic Danish presses was made up of secular literature, a category that was likely of only minor interest to foreign printers, even those in Lübeck. No popular literature in Danish was produced by foreign presses. The publication abroad of literature in Danish was, as is

TABLE 1.3 *Printing for Denmark before the Reformation.*

	All titles		Foreign titles		Danish titles	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	70	53	31	57	39	51
Bible	4	3	2	4	2	3
Devotional	21	16	9	16	12	16
Ecclesiastical	13	10	2	4	11	14
Liturgical	32	24	18	33	14	18
<i>Secular literature:</i>	62	47	24	44	38	49
History	6	5	1	2	5	6
Humanistic	2	2	—	—	2	3
Law	7	5	1	2	6	8
Politics	18	14	13	24	5	6
Schoolbooks	22	17	9	16	13	17
Scientific	2	2	—	—	2	3
Popular	5	4	—	—	5	6
Total	132	100	55	101	77	100

always the case with languages spoken by a relatively small group of people, dependent on certain driving forces. One such impetus was provided by Christiern Pedersen in Paris in the second half of the 1510s as he engaged wholeheartedly in the promotion of his mother tongue, in the form of both original literature and translations made for the sake of ordinary or less well educated people. Additionally, political and religious turmoil prevented domestic printers from producing certain types of literature but stoked the fires of foreign publication. Printed works were illegally imported from Germany before the Reformation was established in Denmark: the Reformation made possible the translation of the Bible into Danish, but the first edition was printed in Leipzig in 1524. During the first half of the 1520s, the struggle over political power between Christian II and Duke Frederik resulted in the publication of political pamphlets outside Denmark, even if not at a great distance from Denmark's borders. Such texts on Danish politics may have been intended not for the Danish market but for political authorities and the general public in the Holy Roman Empire.

As noted, the earliest Danish political literature concerned the preaching of a crusade against the Turks; its chief concern was therefore with actors outside the domestic market. By contrast, Danish liturgical books had direct relevance for the market to which they were addressed. Liturgical works appear to have been produced in roughly the same numbers at home and abroad: we know of fourteen works produced within Denmark before the Reformation and eighteen works produced abroad for a Danish audience. But Danish institutions or individuals were more likely to approach foreign printers for the production of liturgical literature than for any other form of printed material. Thirty-three per cent of all foreign production but only 18% of domestic production was liturgical. Participants in the Danish market in Germany and France were more likely to supply religious material than secular literature, and their products were usually of a high quality but, thanks to ecclesiastical subsidies, relatively cheap. If the political leaflets of the years 1523 to 1525 are excluded from our calculations, allowing us to concentrate on production specifically intended for the Danish market, the preponderance of religious material is even more striking: of the remaining forty-two editions that were produced abroad almost 74% were of a religious nature and almost 43% were liturgical.

In its preoccupation with liturgical, devotional and ecclesiastical literature, the Danish pre-Reformation book market is typical of small and peripheral early modern book markets. That character is all the more striking in a comparison with contemporary English book production, which included a larger proportion of domestically produced secular texts, both translations and

original works.²⁸ With regard to schoolbooks, we can detect a strong international impact on the Danish book market in the form of both Latin grammars and a considerable number of books with Danish text produced abroad. The national character of the Danish book market for almost all categories of literature had grown more pronounced shortly before the Reformation.

Printer-Patron Relations in Denmark

Sooner or later developments in the European book market reached the Scandinavian markets, where they were adapted to prevailing local conditions. As noted earlier in this chapter, printing was established in Scandinavia as a result of commissions from the church to print liturgical books, following a pattern that can also be found elsewhere in Europe. At the same time, additional, if more minor, products of the printing presses reached an even wider public, for printers took the opportunity to produce print runs of mainly educational or devotional texts in addition to the voluminous breviaries and missals. The earliest, largely Lübeck-based printers did not slavishly copy continental developments, however, for they acted within a complex late-medieval book culture that already had at least two decades of printing experience and were part of an increasingly internationalised book trade.

Henrik Schück has noted the variety among the participants in publishing and the various responsibilities they held.²⁹ Among the most professional of institutional publishers he considered to be all those dioceses and bishops who commissioned liturgical handbooks for sale to parish churches and priests within a specific diocese. Vadstena monastery acted as a publisher on another level when it commissioned the printing of the *Vita Katherine*, copies of which were given away apparently at no charge. In taking the opportunity to produce smaller works, such as Donates, on their own account, printers who had come to Sweden to produce liturgical handbooks became publishers. According to Schück, such mixed publishing enterprises were established in Sweden on at least two occasions: in connection with the production of the *Missale Aboense* in 1488, a liturgical handbook commissioned by the diocese of Turku/Åbo for re-sale within its own territories and to its own clergy, and with the printing of the *Revelationes* of 1492, when the Vadstena monastery and the printer

28 Cf. *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library. BMC. XI: England* ('t Goy-Houten 2007).

29 Henrik Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandelns historia*. Vol. 1: *Före 1483–1718* (Stockholm 1923), 29–35.

Bartholomaeus Ghotan came together to produce an object that would be attractive to a north European book market.

Many of the phenomena of an emerging and complex early modern book culture that are well-known from continental Europe can also be found in Scandinavia. One characteristic element is the private publisher-patron. He – for we know of no contemporary female publisher-patrons in Scandinavia – was a man of the church who commissioned the printing of a work, sometimes as a publisher-bookseller in his own right, independently of the local bishop. This wealthy publisher-patron commissioned works as an act of devotion. He neither supported printers over a longer period of time nor intended to establish a long-lasting relationship, unlike Hans van Ghetelen, for example, the driving force behind the Mohnkopf printing enterprise in Lübeck. So far, I know of only two Danish publisher-patrons, but the concept seems to have been reality in Sweden too, and at an early date, even though there are no documented cases of patronage in the Swedish kingdom from the pre-Reformation period. A well-known late sixteenth-century inscription in a copy of Hartmann Schedel's Latin chronicle reads, 'Denna Book är tryckt medh Sten Stures bekostnadt i Nurenbergh 1493' [This book was printed in 1493 in Nuremberg at the expense of Sten Sture (the Swedish regent)]³⁰ No late fifteenth-century sources back up this claim, but it does suggest the existence of a commitment to publishing in pre-Reformation Sweden.³¹

Through bibliography and biography we can explore the realization of a number of pre-Reformation Scandinavian printed works, some of which are extant, while others are known only from archival and printed sources. Analysis of the activities of two Danish publisher-patrons reveals the complexity of Scandinavian publishing between the late 1480s and the beginning of the sixteenth century. As book culture developed, so too did the number of participants, a product of the inner dynamics of the world of the printed book. The publisher-patron was one essential element in rapidly developing regional book culture. Given the high initial costs of printing, publisher-patrons made a vital contribution in support of the technical aspects of book production, and at a somewhat later date they were essential to the realization of specific projects.

30 Lund University Library, shelf mark Paleotyper (Storfolio) Ex 2. Wolfgang Undorf, *Hogenskild Bielke's Library, A Catalogue of the Famous 16th Century Swedish Private Collection* (Uppsala 1995), 196–197.

31 This position runs contrary to scholarly opinion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; see Harald Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och hennes bibliotekarier* (Stockholm 1901), 4.

Laurens Leven and Stephanus Arndes

We know little of Laurens and Leno Leven, father and son from Nordstrand in the Danish duchy of Slesvig. Laurens (or Lorens) Leven (or Leve) who was born in the first half of the fifteenth century, was a member of a wealthy Danish noble family who became the representative of the Danish king on the island of Nordstrand, west of Slesvig. His son Leno and the printer Stephanus Arndes met in Perugia, where they both studied in the mid-1470s. According to a papal document dated 1475, Leno had studied canon law; in later records from Lübeck he is called 'doctor'.³² Arndes was trained in printing and in cutting types, but we have no information about his studies other than that he is recorded in sources from Lübeck as 'Meister', which makes it possible that he acquired a master's degree at the university in Perugia. Arndes is documented for the first time in 1477, as a cutter of printing types in Perugia. He established a number of contacts with German printers and merchants during his stay in that city, which would have acquainted him with the possibilities held out by a partnership of financier and printer. In 1480, Arndes and Leno Leven collaborated for the first time, together with another German student, Dietrich Tzenen.³³ That pattern, with Arndes as printer and Leven as financial investor, would subsequently be repeated in Lübeck. Arndes' departure from Perugia was associated with the arrival of a rival, in the form of a branch of a large Venetian publishing company.³⁴ Probably around 1484 or 1485, Arndes moved to Lübeck, where he established a printing shop, and sometime thereafter, maybe as early as 1485 or 1486, Laurens Leven acted as financier in an association between his family and Arndes. Leno Leven seems a likely link between Arndes and the Leven family. After his studies in Perugia, Leno became dean at both Slesvig and Lübeck. A source dated 28 February 1494 records that Leno was authorized to represent his father in the partnership with Steffen Arndes. The association seems to have started in Lübeck, as is indicated by the wording 'they [Laurens Leven and Stephanus Arndes] have had company here together for a certain period of time' [*eyne tid her selschup tosamende gehatt*

32 *Acta pontificum danica: pavelige aktstykker vedroerende Danmark*. Vol. 4: 1471–1492, ed. Alfred Krarup and Johannes Lindbaek (Copenhagen 1910), 120 no. 2649.

33 Giocondo Ricciarelli, 'I prototipografi in Perugia. Fonti documentarie', *Bollettino della Deputazione de storia patria per l'Umbria* 76, no. 2 (1970), 77–161, here 146. Dieter Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 82 (2002), 45–58, here 51.

34 Alken Bruns and Dieter Lohmeier, eds., *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Buchdruck für den Ostseeraum* (Lübeck 1994), 69. Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', 52.

hebben].³⁵ This association continued for several years (*etlike jar*) until dissolved amicably, with the parties remaining on good terms.³⁶

The list of books printed by Arndes for the Levens is impressive and includes works added between 1989 and 2002 as a result of research carried out by Merete Geert Andersen and Dieter Lohmeier, working independently.³⁷ Arndes appears to have headed for Lübeck because there he could count on steady supplies for his workshop, including paper and types.³⁸ The records of the ISTC suggest Arndes must have left Lübeck for Slesvig immediately after completing his first printing job, a Low German edition of the *Dithmarscher Landrecht* that has been dated to about 1485.³⁹ The GW dates that edition to 1487/1488, however, which would suggest that Arndes' first printing shop was established in Slesvig. The start of his association with Laurens Leven surely does not lie earlier than 1485 or 1486 and probably came a short time before his arrival in Slesvig. Whichever dating is correct, Arndes' appearance on the Danish printing scene follows an established model whereby a significant liturgical book was printed on site for the local diocese. Older research followed the colophon of the *Missale Slesvicense*, which states that it was printed in Slesvig. Lohmeier, however, has argued convincingly from the evidence of the new type used for some of the missal's signatures that the work was not completed until after Arndes' return to Lübeck. While the printing of this major liturgical book was his primary task, Arndes did not miss the opportunity to print two additional, if more minor, books also, just as other early Scandinavian printers – Johann

35 Friedrich Bruns, 'Lebensnachrichten über Lübecker Drucker des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 2 (1915), 220–260, here 253.

36 Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 17. Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', 50.

37 Merete Geert Andersen, 'An Unknown Edition of "Breviarium Slesvicense". Printed by Stephan Arndes in Lübeck, ca. 1489', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1989), 106–115. Merete Geert Andersen, 'Har Stephan Arndes trykt et Missale Vibergense?', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 77 (1990), 97–120; the *Missale Vibergense* was a missal for the diocese of Ribe.

38 Lohmeier refers to the suggestion first presented by Isak Collijn, 'En nyfunnen dansk inkunabel', *Allmänna Svenska boktryckareföreningens meddelanden* 10, no. 3 (1905):71–73.

39 Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie: Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*. Vol. 1 (Neumünster 1931), no. 94. The partly independent peasant republic of Dithmarschen, formally part of the duchy of Slesvig, was situated southwest of the town of Slesvig and south of Laurens Leven's Norderstrand. According to Lohmeier (Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 36) Arndes might have moved to Slesvig as early as 1484, a possibility that is difficult to reconcile with the dating of the *Dithmarscher Landrecht* in the ISTC, but accords with its dating in the GW.

Snell in Odense and Stockholm and Bartholomaeus Ghotan in Stockholm – had done before him. The additional works produced by Arndes were the entertaining *Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolphi* and a Latin grammar, *Remigius seu domine que pars*, both works well suited to the book market in a town with a cathedral chapter and a Latin school.⁴⁰ Arndes left Slesvig at some point in 1486 and returned to Lübeck, where he not only finished the missal but also prepared to print a second major liturgical handbook for the Slesvig diocese, a breviary. Older sources tell of a first folio edition of the *Breviarium Slesvicense* printed in Lübeck in 1486, but no copy of this edition has survived and Lohmeier doubts its existence, explicitly identifying the *Missale Slesvicense* as unique in Danish printing, unaccompanied by a breviary.⁴¹ The GW follows a different line, registering the *Breviarium Slesvicense* of 1486 but making no mention of a 1489 edition although the latter has been conclusively verified by Geert Andersen.

We know that Arndes and the Leven family collaborated, but the details of that partnership, including the size and chronology of its output, remain clouded. A fresh overview of the works produced by this team should include, as I argued above, the *Dithmarscher Landrecht*, whose dating is significant for discussion of Arndes' movement between Lübeck and Slesvig. Also revealing is the record from 1494 that sealed the end of the working partnership between Laurens Leven and Stephanus Arndes. One central question revolves around Arndes' first stay in Lübeck – was he in Lübeck simply to assemble the equipment he needed, which he then shipped to Slesvig to fulfil his obligations to Laurens Leven, or did he establish a printing shop in Lübeck and start printing there before moving on to Slesvig? A correct chronology for his output would shed some light on this issue. As the ISTC is primarily a finding aid for existing incunabula, it lacks the lost first edition of the *Breviarium Slesvicense*, of 1486, although more surprisingly, Nielsen's Danish bibliography lacks this edition too. According to ISTC and Nielsen, Arndes' output ran as follows:

- *Dithmarscher Landrecht*, Lübeck about 1485 (il00045300, not in Nielsen)
- *Remigius*, Slesvig 1486 (ISTC ir00141700, Nielsen 229)
- *Dialogus*, [Slesvig] 1486 (ISTC is00095410, Nielsen 54)
- *Missale Slesvicense*, Slesvig 1486 (ISTC im00721800, Nielsen 185)
- *Breviarium Slesvicense*, Lübeck 1489 (the octavo edition; ISTC ib01180700, Nielsen 33a)

40 For information on how to calculate the printing of schoolbooks, see Michael Baldzuhn, *Schulbücher im Trivium des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin 2009), 2:119–121, 287–289.

41 Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', 45.

The GW includes the first edition of the breviary but misses the edition of 1489, constructing in its place an alternative edition printed after 1500.⁴² The dating of the *Dithmarscher Landrecht* in the GW follows the tradition established by Collijn, whose dating of the other works also corresponds with the records of the GW.⁴³

- *Remigius*, Slesvig 1486 (GW 11189)
- *Dialogus*, [Slesvig] 1486 (GW 12759)
- *Missale Slesvicense*, Slesvig 1486 (GW M24724)
- *Breviarium Slesvicense*, Lübeck 1486 (GW 05463)
- *Dithmarscher Landrecht*, Lübeck 1487–1488 (GW M16920)
- *Breviarium Slesvicense*, Lübeck after 1500 (the octavo edition; GW 0546310N)

Lohmeier presents a modified theory that considers not only the place of printing of the *Missale Slesvicense*, but also the circumstances of the *Breviarium Slesvicense* in general.⁴⁴ According to Lohmeier, the elements of the liturgical year that were not fixed were printed in Slesvig, but its printing was completed in Lübeck, where Arndes had acquired or manufactured new printing type, which he used to finish printing the edition. Lohmeier's arguments generate a third list:

- *Remigius*, Slesvig 1486
- *Dialogus*, [Slesvig] 1486
- *Missale Slesvicense*, Slesvig and Lübeck 1486
- *Dithmarscher Landrecht*, Lübeck 1487–1488
- *Breviarium Slesvicense*, Lübeck 1489

The liturgical books for the diocese of Slesvig in 1486 seem to have been printed without the involvement of either the bishop of Slesvig or the editor of the missal, Jakob Horstman.⁴⁵ Laurens Leven is now generally accepted as having initiated the printing of the *Missale Slesvicense* as a private enterprise.⁴⁶ Such involvement would be unique among the procedures usually followed in the

42 Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 69.

43 Collijn, 'Återfunna fragment', 110.

44 Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', 53–54.

45 Otto Levin, *Stephan Arndes og hans forhold til Danmark fra bogtrykkets barndom* (Nyköping 1937), 16.

46 Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 69. Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', 51.

earliest printing shops in Scandinavia. Other elements of the printing of the *Missale Slesvicense* are more typical, including the involvement of a named editor and its production in the locality in which bishop and cathedral chapter resided, in this instance Slesvig. But if Levens initiated the project and Arndes completed it in Lübeck, then the scenario for this work did not follow the established pattern to the letter. Given the history of printing in Scandinavia, it seems highly unlikely that Arndes would have moved to Slesvig on his own initiative, for none of his fellow printers relocated on similar whims; like his colleagues, Arndes would have responded to an invitation. He would not have travelled to Slesvig to print only the *Remigius* or the *Dialogus*. With such minor texts in constant demand and therefore easily sold, the earliest Scandinavian printers typically combined such output with larger-scale official commitments. Where this project was unusual, however, was that Arndes left town before he had completed his commission, taking the half-finished work with him.

Lohmeier's main argument for the definitive role played by Laurens Leven – that this is the only possible explanation for the apparent absence of the bishop's collaboration or approval for the production of the missal and breviary – is not without its detractors. Certainly the relevant bishop's involvement is clearly acknowledged in a number of pre-Reformation Scandinavian liturgical works, including in the colophon of *Missale Strengnense* of 1487, and, more impressively, in the introductions of, among others, *Missale Aboense* of 1488, *Breviarium Lincopense* of 1493, *Breviarium Strengnense* of 1495, and *Breviarium Upsalense* of 1496. But the bishop makes no appearance in *Missale Upsalense* of 1484 or *Psalterium Upsalense* and *Manuale Upsalense*, both printed in 1487. His absence is not definitive proof of his non-participation. The *Missale Aboense* mentions the name of its editor/proof reader, the Dominican monk Daniel de Egher, just as the colophon of the *Missale Slesvicense* records the involvement of Jacobus Horstman.

It was not just the printing of the *Missale Slesvicense* that deviated from standard practice, for there seems to have been no rush to send copies to Denmark. When the association between Arndes and the Levens was dissolved on 28 February 1494, both parties agreed that Leno Leven could take thirty-seven copies of the *Missale Slesvicense* in unfinished and unbound sheets of paper and five copies on parchment, which he would be free to sell on his own account. This agreement suggests the work was not intended only for distribution on behalf of the bishop of Slesvig among the parish churches of his diocese. Also, the copies handed over to Leno Leven cannot have been misprints, for they would have been of no value to him. Again the evidence suggests that the printing and sale of this work was a private enterprise. And it

does not appear to have been the sole undertaking by this partnership. In 1494, Arndes still held in stock ninety copies of a *Breviarium Slesvicense* as well as 400 copies of a *Plenarium* which might have been the Low German *Plenarium* of 1493. Leno Leven took all these printed works as security for his legitimate claims on Arndes. The commissioning of the *Missale Slesvicense* may have been a good deed, an act of medieval piety, by Laurens or Leno Leven,⁴⁷ but its marketing and sale seem to have been in the hands of printer, bookbinder and – according to the archival evidence, rather unsuccessful – bookseller Stephanus Arndes, at least until the end of the partnership in 1494.

The following reconstruction of the Arndes-Leven business therefore seems plausible: Stephanus Arndes moved to Lübeck in 1484 or 1485 and there met again Leno Leven, whom he had known in Perugia and who was now associated with the church of St Jacob in Lübeck. Through Leno, Arndes came in contact with Laurens Leven, with whom he entered into a business association, the principal goal of which was the production of liturgical books for the diocese of Slesvig. Significant parts of a missal, perhaps even the whole work, were to be printed in Slesvig, but before that project was completed, two smaller works, the *Remigius* and the *Dialogus*, appeared; these two books should therefore be dated to 1485/1486. The production of the *Missale Slesvicense* was started in Slesvig, where the moveable parts of the Mass and the ecclesiastical year appear to have been printed, but the work was completed in Lübeck in 1486, as is indicated by the new type used to print all other parts of the missal and the signatures of the Canon Missae. Lohmeier's argument that this new type could not have been produced in Slesvig is not convincing in itself, but it is certainly true that the production of new types, a sign of Arndes' efforts to modernise and extend his printing business, would have been associated with the prosperous town of Lübeck rather than with the minor town of Slesvig. Lohmeier's main argument, however, is based on classical book-historical analysis of the preserved bindings.⁴⁸ The binding of a copy of the *Missale Slesvicense* now in the Royal Library in Copenhagen contains fragments of a letter of indulgence that Arndes printed in 1490 for Raymundus Peraudi. If the *Missale* had been printed in its entirety in Slesvig, Arndes, who was also a bookbinder, would have bound the books there himself, or would have had a local bookbinder bind the sheets. The letter of indulgence would not yet have been available for strengthening the binding, but only much later, after Arndes had returned to Lübeck.

47 Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', 51.

48 Ibid., 53–56.

Another printed work is directly or indirectly linked to Arndes' activities in Slesvig. I am convinced that while Andres was in Slesvig, he and Leven established some form of contact with the Collegium, the legal and administrative government of Dithmarschen, which lay close to the south-western borders of the duchy of Slesvig. This contact, together with a demonstration of the printing shop and presentation of material printed in Slesvig, could have led to a commission to print the revised version of the laws of Dithmarschen. That book would then have been printed in Lübeck in 1487, after Arndes had returned from Slesvig, and not in 1485, before his departure for Slesvig, as registered in the ISTC.

What, then, was the aim of the association formed by Arndes and Leven? To date, we lack a convincing response to this question. Book historians have been tempted to look at the results of the collaboration and project them backwards onto its beginnings: Arndes printed a number of works associated with the diocese of Slesvig, and therefore the partnership must have been formed to print works associated with the diocese of Slesvig. There may be some truth in this assertion, but we must also be aware that the original design of the partnership may have had in mind a production that reached beyond works with *Slesvicense* in their title. What can the involvement of the Leven family tell us? Laurens Leven was never involved in either the practicalities of printing or the distribution of the printed material. His son's involvement began only after the liquidation of the association, which, as we have seen, left him with a good number of unbound and unsold copies. Leno Leven may have become a bookseller out of necessity, becoming actively involved in the sale of the missals and other books he received as early as 1493 as security for the debt owed to his father and of the works that remained when the partnership was ended in 1494, a total of more than 500 books.⁴⁹ Additionally, however, Arndes appears to have been unable to pay off his debts as agreed,⁵⁰ for in 1498 he was forced to hand over 1030 copies of the *Legenda aurea* – probably the Low German edition of 1492 – and 1000 copies of 'postellatsche' – perhaps the Low German *Epistolae et Evangelia (Plenarium)* printed in 1497. Although we have no evidence that Leno Leven became a bookseller, by selling these books he would have been able to release the cash value they represented.

The intentions of the partnership appear to have reached beyond the printing of a missal and a breviary. The books that Leno Leven took as security for

49 Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 17 and 36.

50 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1573.

Arndes' debts to his father may have been a product of the partnership. The works owed to Laurens Leven according to the legal agreement of 1494 – copies of the missal, breviary, and *Evangelia*⁵¹ – represented only a small selection of all the titles Arndes had produced since the establishment of his printing shop in Lübeck in 1486. In addition to lesser works such as letters of indulgence and almanacs, Arndes had printed a number of texts in Low German that would have likely sold easily, even in Denmark. Editions of the *Legenda aurea* and a *Gart der Gesundheit* were finished in 1492. Among the Latin books, we find *De sacramento altaris*, which could not have been printed before 1493, and other ecclesiastical literature. The *Evangelia* mentioned in the 1494 document has been identified by Lohmeier as a *Plenarium* printed in 1493,⁵² a work intended not just for clergy, but also for a wider Low German audience. If the chronology is correct, Leno Leven appears to have received works from Arndes' stock that would continue to sell for some years, two major texts related directly to Slesvig, a significant regional law book and textbooks. It seems, then, that Laurens Leven's money had been invested in the printing of at least three large-format books (there may have been a number of smaller works involved too, such as schoolbooks or devotional works) that were either intended for the local market in Slesvig – which was not a particularly lucrative market, to judge by the quite large number of copies that remained in the printing shop in February 1494 – or were a pious deed by a God-fearing investor. At the beginning of 1494, Laurens Leven's share of the products of the partnership was worth 696 Mark Lübisches, or 1120 Mark Danish. We know from the document drawn up in 1494 that the works had been being sold since 1493, so these figures represent the remaining copies. Approximately 25% of a print run of approximately 180 copies of the missal remained,⁵³ as did some 60% of perhaps 150 copies of the breviary,⁵⁴ and, finally, 90–100% of the edition of the *Plenarium*. Leven's share might indeed have been more than 1600 Mark Lübisches or the equivalent of around 2500 Mark Danish for these three editions alone.⁵⁵ So, then, Laurens Leven's total financial commitment to this printing business

51 Bruns, *Lebensnachrichten*, 253.

52 Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 17.

53 Thirty-seven copies on paper and five on vellum remained in Arndes' shop in February 1494. Sixteen copies on paper had been sold between 1493 and 1494; *ibid.*, 17, 36.

54 Ninety copies remained in 1494; another nine copies had been sold between 1493 and 1494.

55 An interesting comparison is provided by Johann Fust's loan to Johannes Gutenberg at the very beginning of printing, in the early 1450s: Fust invested 1600 Guilders, the equivalent of ca. 3200 Mark Lübisches or 5000 Mark Danish, or about double the sum invested by Laurens Leven three or four decades later.

calculated on the basis of his financial investment in the printing business since the launch of the partnership in 1484, which would have included the establishment of the printing shop and its running costs through the years and investments for later commissions, might have been anywhere between 696 and 1600 Mark Lübisck.

If the Leven family's engagement with printing had been limited to the liturgical needs of the diocese of Slesvig, then it would have been fulfilled by the printing of the *Missale Slesvicense* and one or maybe two editions of the *Breviarium Slesvicense*. There are, though, reasons to assume that they financed the printing of more books than just these two. The aforementioned figures tell of the large amount of money Laurens Leven was able and ready to invest in the printing business, whatever his motivation. It also shows, I would argue, that printing in Denmark had become an established technique and a modern means of producing books and was also attractive to a wealthy patron.

Laurens Leven's commitment to printing was a product above all of his religious commitment and his strong interest in the reform of liturgy. These motivations were deeply rooted in a medieval mentality. Although his method – a commercial relationship with a printer, tried and tested as early as 1480–1482 in Perugia – was innovative within the Danish context, it hit obstacles. Arndes and Leven's first company collapsed when faced by the establishment of a branch of a large Venetian publishing company. Their second partnership was also eventually unsuccessful, but for reasons unrelated to competition. First, the clergy in the diocese of Slesvig were evidently not obliged to buy either the *Missale Slesvicense* or the *Breviarium Slesvicense*, books that had not been commissioned by the bishop. Second, Leven deemed the partnership over when the titles initially proposed had been printed. Third, there was a commercial element to the Leven family's involvement that explains the amount of money claimed in 1494 and the titles produced by this partnership. The market did not simply absorb, however, any books printed. The liturgical books that are usually regarded as the sole purpose of the partnership do not appear to have been in line with their market, and Arndes was left with many unsold copies five years after the company had been terminated. The partnership may have been dissolved by mutual agreement. In light of this complex of facts, motivations and explanations, the printing of liturgical books may be one of the least representative activities on the early modern Scandinavian book market. The following example of a printer-patron partnership in Denmark, which was active about a decade after the liquidation of the Arndes-Leven association, shows, however, at least the enduring importance of the production of liturgical books, even when other literary categories were also involved.

Hans Urne and Simon Brandt

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Danish periodical *Danske Magazin* published two documents that highlight aspects of Denmark's 'lost' pre-Reformation book history: the will of Hans Urne, dean at the cathedral of Roskilde, dated 1503,⁵⁶ and a record generated by a legal case from 1505 involving Jørgen Urne, brother of the deceased Hans Urne.⁵⁷ The latter deals partly with money and partly with the quality of books printed by an otherwise unknown printer named Simon Brandt. Hans Urne's will, and also the legal case, contains extremely valuable information not only about the book collection of a man of the church around the year 1500, but also about the late medieval book culture of a Danish provincial town.

We also have to look at the activities of the printer Simon Brandt, who, as the will records, had been employed by Urne to print a number of books. Brandt has long remained unidentified and still does not appear in the Danish national bibliography.⁵⁸ As far as archival sources are concerned, Simon Brandt is mentioned only in connection with the 1505 lawsuit. The family name Brandt, though, is well-known in north European book history, a variant form of the name of the Brandis family in Lübeck, who had been book printers since the mid-1480s. No member of that family is known to have been called Simon though.⁵⁹ The Simon of this document may have been confused with a

56 'Om Mester Hans Urne Som Prost i Odense, og hans Testamente 1503', *Danske Magazin* 1, no. 10 (1745), 289–300. See below chapter 5 pp. 8–12 for a thorough analysis of his will and the book collection it portrays.

57 'Om Mester Hans Urne', 299–300; only part of the document in question was published. The manuscript source was in the possession of a Professor Bircherod in Odense but is now missing; Merete Geert Andersen, 'De trykte missaler fra Roskilde stift og deres bogtrykkere – en nyvurdering', *Nordisk tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 75 (1988), 65–96, here 81.

58 Simon Brandt goes unmentioned in both Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', Bruns, *Lebensnachrichten*, and Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*.

59 Simon Brandt is also unknown to Ursula Altmann, *Die Leistungen der Drucker mit Namen Brandis im Rahmen der Buchgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 2005), who has provided the most extensive picture of the Brandis/Brandt family's contribution to print history. The only person named Simon associated with the Brandis family and Lübeck was Simon Koch, a companion of Markus Brandis during the first half of the 1480s (Altmann, *Brandis*, 36), almost one generation before Simon Brandt. Simon Koch is a well-known figure of the earliest history of printing in Magdeburg, where he was active from 1483 until perhaps 1504, although the last dated printed works are from 1500. Ninon Suckow deems Koch to be of only local or regional importance; Ninon Suckow, "Impressum Magdeborch arte Simonis Koch de Wylborch" – Simon Koch und der Beginns des Buchdrucks in

member of the Brandis family, with the most likely candidate Matthaeus Brandis who, according to traditional book historiography, was resident in Ribe or Slesvig in Denmark in 1502 and again in Ribe in 1504.⁶⁰ Matthaeus Brandis' production included an edition of Saxo Grammaticus in 1502 and the *Missale Ripense* in 1504. Though Geert Andersen has stated that Matthaeus Brandis did not go to Ribe before 1504 and he never lived or worked in Slesvig,⁶¹ Brandis very soon emerges as one of the most likely personifications of the unknown Simon Brandt: Andersen suggests in a footnote that Simon Brandt may have been a brother or cousin of Matthaeus Brandis and an employee in his printing shop.⁶² Another theory was launched by Knud Ottosen, who suggested that though Matthaeus Brandis was the printer who did business with Hans Urne, it was not Brandis who came to Odense to meet Jørgen Urne in 1505. Although Ottosen's article is important for our understanding of early Danish typography and bibliography, his analysis of the 1505 law suit involving Jørgen Urne and Simon Brandt is surprisingly deficient.

Matthaeus Brandis seems to have visited Denmark at the invitation of Hans Urne and to have lived and worked in Odense from 1500 (or not later than 1501) until Urne's death in 1503. Those books previously thought to have been published by Brandis in Ribe or Slesvig between 1501 and 1502 must therefore have been produced in Odense. According to Geert Andersen, the *Missale Ripense* of 1504 was actually a *Missale Ottoniense*, printed in Odense in 1501.⁶³ This *Missale Ottoniense* may have been the major commission that brought Brandis to Odense, which would reduce the output of Brandis' press in Ribe to one known title only, the *Expositiones circa leges Jutiae* of 1504, an edition of the regional laws by Kanutus episcopus Viburgensis, a medieval bishop of Viborg.⁶⁴ Both Geert Andersen and Ottosen failed to grasp either the significance of Brandis' contribution to Danish book history or the volume of his business with Hans Urne. This section examines the collaboration between Simon Brandt, that is, Matthaeus Brandis, and Hans Urne and the content of

Magdeburg', in *Bücher, Drucker, Bibliotheken in Mitteledeutschland: Neue Forschungen zur Kommunikations- und Mediengeschichte um 1500*, ed. Enno Buntz (Leipzig 2006), 111–132, here 120. It is highly unlikely that Koch would have attracted the interest of Hans Urne and received a commission from him.

60 His bio-bibliography is part of Altmann, *Brandis*, 39–41, 60–63.

61 Geert Andersen, 'De trykte missaler', 80–82.

62 Ibid., 92 n. 97. Knud Ottosen, 'En typografisk undersøgelse af Odense Agenden (British Museum IA 9983) ca 1483/1503', *Nova et vetera: Studia in honorem Martti Parvio* (Helsinki 1978), 363–387, here 383.

63 Geert Andersen, 'De trykte missaler', 81–82.

64 Ibid., 82.

the 1505 lawsuit; it then turns to the connection between Hans Urne, on one hand, and Matthaeus Brandis and the Brandis family in general, on the other.

Hans Urne came from one the oldest Danish noble families. At the end of his ecclesiastical career, he was a wealthy and educated member of the cathedral chapters of Roskilde and Odense, familiar with theology, history and the law. Our source from 1505 suggests that Hans Urne must have contacted Matthaeus Brandis at an unknown date, but not later than 1501, and commissioned a number of books. Some of these editions may have been works left by Hans Urne in his will of 1503, which mentions a number of recently printed books but does not reveal the name of their printer. Fortunately for us, the Urne family was not happy with the quality of some of the books delivered, and as a result Jørgen Urne, representing the deceased Hans Urne, and the printer Simon Brandt were involved in negotiations two years later. The discussions and the agreement that followed were documented. The 1505 record will be cited here as it was published in the *Danske Magazin* in 1745, although that version deviates from the version published in 1870 as two copies of the now-lost original have survived.⁶⁵

Jørgen Urne calls to account Simon Brandt in the year 1505 [...] 50.054 Mark and 2 Vide⁶⁶ which Simon Brandt has received from Master Hans Urne, provost in Odense [...] for those books that the aforesaid Simon Brandt and his companions have printed on behalf of the aforesaid Master Hans Urne. Then Simon Brandt calls to account what he should have for his work, according to which Jørgen Urne owed Simon Brandt 6 Mark 3 ß 2 Hvide.⁶⁷

65 Christian Bruun, 'Den danske Literatur fra Bogtrykkerkunstens Inførelse i Danmark til 1550', *Aarsberetninger og Meddelelser fra Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek* 1 (1864–1869), 109–111.

66 According to the copy published by Bruun, *Den danske Literatur*, 110–111, the correct figure is 2554 Mark and 2 Hvide: 'Da hördte och lagde vi forneffnte Regenskab, oppebørsel och Indtaegt, da löb det sig halff tredie tusind Marck halfftrediesinds tiuffue Marck 4. Marck och 2. Hvide, som Mester Simon Brandt haffde oppebaaret aff M. Hans Urne Provst i Odense, huis Siael Gud naade, for de Böger, som forneffnte Simon Brandt och hans Medfölgere haffde tryckt och prentet for forneffnte M. Hans Urne. Da lagde Simon Brandt sit Regenskab frem, paa hvad hand for sit Regenskab skulle haffue, och da lagde vi det imod Oppebørselen, och kom det offuer eet, saa at Jörgen Urne och hans Medarffuinger bleff skyldig til Simon Brandt 6 [Mark] 3 ß. 2. Hvide, efter fremlagde Regning och Handskrifft.' Geert Andersen, *De trykte missaler* 92, n. 97.

67 'Jørgen Urne gjorde Regnskab med Simon Brandt An. 1505. [...] halftrediesindstye tusinde Mark halftrediesindstye Mark 4 Mark og 2 Hvide som Simon Brandt havde

In this legal document, printer Simon Brandt is addressed together with one or several 'Medfølgere', or companion(s). The reference may be to one or several assistant(s) or apprentice(s), the number cannot be determined from the Danish, which has the same form for both singular and plural. The word suggests geographical movement, perhaps indicating that Simon Brandt was not a resident of the town where the printing took place and where the parties met to settle the case. That town may have been Odense, the only place mentioned together with Simon Brandt's employer or commissioner. That his co-worker(s) is/are called 'companion(s)' allows us to arrive at certain conclusions. First, at the time of the lawsuit Simon Brandt may have been an itinerant printer rather than a resident of Odense. Second, he was the principal printer, in charge of the whole operation, as is confirmed by the title 'Mester', or Master, with which he was addressed, a term that indicated that he was the master printer, and/or that he had an academic qualification. Unfortunately, the document reveals nothing of the location at which the printing was carried out, but it was most probably within Denmark and surely not Lübeck, despite the connection with the Brandt family. If he had started in Lübeck, Simon Brandt would have been visiting Odense on account of the sums due and because of complaints about the quality of the printing only, yet I know of no example from early book history of a printer travelling so far only to answer such a complaint. Simon Brandt had been invited to Odense by Hans Urne to print certain books; we can assume that at the time of the 1505 evaluation, Brandt and his companions were still resident in Odense or a nearby city. The town of Ribe, where Matthaeus Brandt was active in 1504, is not very far from Odense.

The lawsuit tells of a commitment to print a remarkably large number of books. Simon Brandt is said to have received the sum of 2554 Mark, apparently Mark Danish, the equivalent of ca. 2574 Mark Holmisch or 1583 Mark Lübisck.⁶⁸ Hans Urne must have had extraordinary economic resources, as this sum is very great and would have accounted for a very large number of books. The records make no mention of the price of individual books, but if we calculate on the basis of an average price of 3–4 Mark Holmish per book,

oppebaaret af Mester Hans Urne Provst i Odense [...] for de Bøger, som fornævnte Simon Brandt og hans Medfølgere havde trykt og prentet for benævnte Mester Hans Urne. Og lagde saa Simon Brandt hans Regnskap frem, paa hvad han skulde have for sit Arbeid, blev saa Jørgen Urne og hans Medarvinger skyldig till Simon Brandt 6. Mark 3. ß 2. Hvide.'; 'Om Mester Hans Urne', 299.

68 H.O. Lange, 'Johan Snell, Danmarks første Bogtrykker: En bibliografisk Undersøgelse', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 6, no. 3 (1891–1892), 627–642, here 629, gives another, yet also incorrect, figure, 2254 Mark.

a price determined by Scandinavian price specifications from the pre-Reformation period (see pp. 103–118), the sum received by Brandt would have represented at least 600 to 800 books. Many of the works produced by Matthaeus Brandis were schoolbooks, which would surely have cost much less than 3 Marks. In terms of trade value, 1583 Mark Lübisck was five times the value of the books exported from Lübeck to Scandinavia during the years 1492–1495 as recorded in the Pfundzollbücher.

None of the books commissioned by Hans Urne and produced by Simon Brandt appear to have survived. It may be that the books Brandt printed were of a certain type – minor liturgical and religious texts, for example, or schoolbooks – that were consumed much more readily and faster than other categories of print. It is also possible that some works printed by Brandt have survived but so far gone unrecognised. The Danish chronicle mentioned in Hans Urne's will might have been the edition of Saxo Grammaticus currently attributed to Matthaeus Brandis and dated 1502.⁶⁹ The account of the legal case continues with concrete complaints about one specific printed work, an edition of the Diurnal:

Then Jørgen Urne spoke to Simon Brandt about Diurnales which he had printed for Master Hans Urne, and he said that they haven't been printed correctly and that they were dated at a year ['that they have been printed' is a possible alternative translation], when they couldn't possibly have been printed. Then Simon Brandt demanded to buy back the same books for the price they had been sold at, but Jørgen Urne answered him that he couldn't do that, therefore he [i.e., Jørgen Urne] agreed to pay [Simon Brandt] half the price of the Diurnale, and with this they came to terms.⁷⁰

69 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 242.

70 'Da tiltalte Jørgen Urne Simon Brandt for Diurnaler, som hand trykte for Mester Hans Urne, og sagde han, at de ikke vare ret trykte, og komme til Aars, hvor de ikke kunde vorde trykte. Begierte saa Simon Brandt at faae samme Bøger igien for det de kostede, da svarede Jørgen Urne, at han det ei kunde gjøre, hvorfor han samtykte at betale de anden halve Deel for fornævnte Diurnaler, bleve de saa venlig forligte.'; 'Om Mester Hans Urne', 299–300. The slightly different edition of this document published by Bruun (*Den danske Literatur*, 111) does not change the meaning of these lines: 'Da tiltalede Jørgen Urne Simon Brandt och sagde, at hand haffde trykt Diurnaler for M. Hans Urne, och vare de icke ret trykte, och komme til Aars, hvor de icke kunde derfor vorde soldte. Da svarede Simon Brandt, och begierede, at hand maatte faae samme Bøger igien for det som de kostede. Da svarede Jørgen Urne, at hand det ey kunde gjøre, hvorføre han och samtyckte at betale den anden Deel for forneffnte Diurnaler etc. Blevue saa venlige och vel forenede etc.'

The dispute between Jørgen Urne and Simon Brandt apparently centred on the quality of the *Diurnale* printed by Matthaeus Brandis. Jørgen Urne's argument is not easy to understand, but it is evident that Simon Brandt delivered *Diurnales* that had been incorrectly printed (*at de ikke vare ret trykte*). The following 'og komme til Aars', that is, dated or printed at a specific point of time, indicates either a simple succession of problems, in the sense that both text and impressum contained defects, or the specification of the defect that is being addressed, apparently a false date of printing.⁷¹ The information contained in the text is insufficient to allow us to establish the details of the complaint. Has the date simply been misprinted and the body of text is otherwise correct or has Matthaeus Brandis, as the wording of the lawsuit seems to suggest, sold Diurnals that had been printed before Hans Urne had placed his order? In other words, has the printer tried to sell to Hans Urne books that were (part of) an edition of a *Diurnale* that had been printed elsewhere at an earlier date? In that case, these books would have been unsold stock held by a printer, or someone else, for several years.

No bibliographical source records a *Diurnale* either printed in Denmark or designated for use in a Danish diocese before 1505. The only known – that is, preserved – Danish *Diurnale* were printed several years after this case: the *Diurnale Roschildense* of 1511 and the *Diurnale Slesvicense* of 1513, both commissioned and edited by Christiern Pedersen and printed by Jean Badin in Paris. Just as south German breviaries were used in Swedish dioceses and north German liturgical books were exported to Finland in large numbers, editions of the Diurnal, which had grown out of the traditions of the Franciscan Order, could have been easily adapted to the various liturgical traditions of the pre-Reformation church. Two editions of the *Diurnale Lubicense* were printed in Lübeck at the end of the fifteenth century: the first was printed by Johan Snell around 1482 and the second was published by the Poppy-printer, Hans van Ghetelen, and printed by Matthaeus Brandis around 1490. Here,

71 Ottosen, *En typografisk undersøgelse* interprets this passage as indicating that Jørgen Urne had sent the copies of the *Diurnale* to a place called 'Års' where they were either to be sold or reprinted (according to different transcriptions of this document; p. 382). He supports his thesis by pointing to the use of *soldte* in the version published as Bruun, *Den danske Literatur*, 111, instead of *trykte*, which is correct. Objections to Ottosen's interpretation are numerous. For example, no place in Denmark with this name can be identified, and even if 'Års' is an abbreviation for Aarhus – inappropriate for a notarial document, in which all other place names have the correct form – no connection between Aarhus and Matthaeus Brandis is known. Ottosen makes no further reference to this location in his article, not even when sketching Brandis' Danish career, nor does he mention another printer who might have been available or able to reprint the *Diurnale* (pp. 383–384).

then, is a direct link between Matthaeus Brandis alias Simon Brandt and an earlier *Diurnale*. Johann Snell's edition has no impressum, and if there was one in van Ghetelen's edition, it has not been preserved. Jørgen Urne speaks explicitly of the discrepancy between the publication date of the *Diurnale* and the date claimed by the printer, which suggests it was possible to establish the date the *Diurnale* was printed, even if that date did not appear on the work itself. A liturgical argument speaks against the idea that the work sold to Urne was an earlier *Diurnale Lubicense*. A diurnal indicated clearly the diocese or religious order whose rite it followed, and for that reason, Brandt would have been unable to pass off the *Diurnale Lubicense*, or any other diurnal printed for any other diocese, to Urne. To distribute a liturgical work intended for one diocese to another diocese would have been an error far worse than a simple misprinting of the date of publication and would surely have merited specific comment by Jørgen Urne. This analysis suggests that Brandis had not tried to sell Hans Urne unaltered copies from an earlier edition of the *Diurnale Lubicense*. If the accusation involved the recycling of an earlier *Diurnale*, the work in question may have been a *Diurnale Ottoniense* that has disappeared completely, like most of the books Brandis produced for Hans Urne.

Matthaeus Brandis is known to have used tricks involving older editions of texts before: around 1502, he seems to have reprinted leaves 25–26 and 31–32 (signatures d^{1–2} and d^{7–8}) of the *Agenda Ottoniensis* printed by Johann Snell about 1483.⁷² He could have come across the remainder of Snell's edition in Lübeck and sold it to Hans Urne. Another option is that Hans Urne owned the remainder of this edition, having been involved in the printing business.⁷³ The thirty copies of a liturgical handbook that according to Hans Urne's will were to be distributed to poor churches in Odense might have been sophisticated copies drawn from the remaining stock of the 1483 edition of the *Agenda Ottoniensis*, partly reprinted in 1502.⁷⁴ It seems unlikely, however, that the

72 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 4a. Ottosen, *En typografisk undersøgelse*. Grethe Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk 1482–1830: en bibliografi*. 6 vols. (Copenhagen 1994–2001), chose not to register this reprint separately.

73 Ottosen, 'En typografisk undersøgelse', 381.

74 Geert Andersen, 'De trykte missaler', 81. The concept of the sophisticated copy is the theme of an instructive article by Margaret Lane Ford: 'Deconstruction and Reconstruction: Detecting and Interpreting Sophisticated Copies', in *Early Printed books as Material Objects: Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19–21 August 2009*, ed. Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin and New York 2010), 291–303.

Diurnale mentioned in the lawsuit of 1505 was a sophisticated *Agenda Ottoniensis*, a conclusion that is given added weight by the fate of the *Diurnale* mentioned in the lawsuit. Matthaeus Brandis offered to take back all copies of the *Diurnale* in question and to reimburse Jørgen Urne. Urne, however, rejected that offer, perhaps for financial reasons. We can conclude from the discussion of the incorrect printing date above that Jørgen Urne or his brother Hans had seen the books in question, and it is certainly possible that copies had already been distributed. Several copies of an unidentified *Diurnale* are mentioned in Hans Urne's will of two years earlier, with one copy bequeathed to an anonymous schoolmaster and another five to poor parish priests. The *Diurnale* produced by Matthaeus Brandis might not have been altogether useless after all.

Jørgen Urne and Matthaeus Brandis came to an agreement, with the latter accepting payment of half the price of the *Diurnale*. As we know, Hans Urne had assessed the cost of the works he wished to have printed by Matthaeus Brandis at 2054 Marks. Apparently, Brandis had received only half of the production costs when this dispute arose, but Jørgen Urne subsequently paid him the sum still owed. It appears that Simon Brandt had produced at least one of the liturgical manuals and schoolbooks commissioned from him by Hans Urne. And he likely also provided a partial reprint of Hans van Ghetelen's edition of the *Diurnale Lubicense*, which he himself had printed not so many years earlier. Commissioned by Hans Urne to print a Diurnal, Brandt took unsold copies from van Ghetelen's or his own stock and presented them to Hans Urne (or his brother) as a new edition, a trick apparently seen through by Jørgen Urne. Certainly the evidence investigated here allows us to add that reprint to the list of early sixteenth century Danish prints.

Matthaeus Brandis may also have produced the schoolbooks mentioned in Hans Urne's final will and referred to as 'printed lately'. That wording may indicate books commissioned by Hans Urne and printed by Matthaeus Brandis since there are no records of any other schoolbooks printed in Denmark at that time. In his will Hans Urne specified clearly the titles of the books involved: 'Also to poor pupils in this town 200 books, such as Donats, Regulas, Fascenus, the three parts of Alexander in octavo, which books have been printed lately',⁷⁵ but unfortunately specified neither printer nor date of printing. Schoolbooks belong to the category of prints that were least likely to survive their use, and misuse, or be regarded as worth preserving. Their

75 'Item fattige Pleblinge i denne Bye II. hundrede Bøger, som Donather, Regulas, Facenus, tres Partes Alexandri udi octava, hvilke Bøger som nylig satt er'; 'Om Mester Hans Urne', 297.

survival rate is extremely low. Although their existence is incontrovertible, these works, like the reprints of the *Agenda Ottoniense* of 1483 and of the *Diurnale Lubicense* of around 1490, do not appear in the Danish national bibliography.⁷⁶

The issue of the identity of the printer Simon Brandt has been tackled ever since the publication of the extracts from the will of Hans Urne and the lawsuit brought by Jørgen Urne against Simon Brandt. The identification of Simon Brandt as Matthaeus Brandis must now be regarded as definite. The connections between Hans Urne and members of the Brandis family of Lübeck, and especially Matthaeus Brandis, throw light on Urne's general engagement in the local and regional book trade. Urne probably had commercial ties with the Brandis family for a number of years, although no concrete evidence of that relationship survived. In his will, Hans Urne disposed of seven chronicles, or 'krønnike', works that are different from the German chronicles bequeathed to Urne's brother Johann and his brother-in-law Theeß Jensenn.⁷⁷ The appearance of so many women among the recipients of these chronicles – his mother and sister, maid Berte, the sister of Tønne Tønnesøn, who might have been a friend or fellow dean, and an apparently unrelated woman, Kirsten Oxe – suggests that this chronicle was in the vernacular or Low German rather than Latin. The works that Urne was bequeathing here may have been Danish chronicles published shortly before Urne drew up his will, which would also explain why he was giving away so many copies of the same book. The *Danske Rimkrønike* was published by Govert van Ghemen in Copenhagen in 1495, but it seems unlikely that Hans Urne would have had several copies of this book in his library. An alternative scenario focuses instead on the more recent Low German edition of Saxo Grammaticus' *Danorum regum heroumque historia Denscke Kroneke*, whose place of publication has been proposed by bibliographers as either Lübeck or one of the Danish provincial towns of Slesvig or Ribe, and whose publication date appears to fall between 1490 and 1502. Most likely that work was printed by Matthaeus Brandis during his stay in Odense in 1502.

Hans Urne must have been involved in the book trade on a significant scale to judge by these large numbers of copies, which far exceed the numbers of single works that were to be found in private book collections. These works could have been offered for sale in the printer's shop or the shops of

76 Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk*, vol. 5, XXVIII–XXXIII (which contains an overview of modern literature on printing in Odense that includes Geert Andersen article from 1988 but omits Ottosen's earlier article of 1978), 2–3.

77 'Om Mester Hans Urne', 296–297.

local bookbinders or by an itinerant bookseller in time for Hans Urne to buy a good number of copies. The Danish chronicle does not reveal either its printer's name or the place or date of its printing, which suggests that it was printed on commission.⁷⁸ Only two years later, Matthaeus Brandis added a complete colophon to his own edition of Kanutus' *Expositiones circa leges Jutiae*, printed in Ribe in 1504. The chronicle mentioned in the will might have been a Saxo Grammaticus printed by Matthaeus Brandis on the order of Hans Urne, which could suggest that the business relationship of Urne and Brandis mirrored that of Laurens Leven in Slesvig and the printer Stephanus Arndes.⁷⁹ Urne and Brandis appear to have collaborated while retaining clearly defined and formally independent positions. Urne's involvement does not appear to have extended to acting as either professional publisher or retail bookseller.

Hans Urne must have been aware of the Brandis family, and especially of Matthaeus Brandis, quite early, at least since the late 1490s. In 1497, Matthaeus assisted his brother Lucas in the production of the *Breviarium Ottoniense*, at which time he might have established a professional relation of his own with Hans Urne, from which he would benefit only a few years later.⁸⁰ Matthaeus Brandis fled from growing financial difficulties to Denmark.⁸¹ According to the Lübeck tax rolls, he was registered as absent from the town in 1501–1502, and there is no evidence that he paid the *Schoß*, or direct tax, during these years, although he did pay it again for the year 1503, from which Altmann concludes that Brandis had returned to Lübeck that year. While the income from his work for Hans Urne would have enabled him to pay his tax that year, he did not carry out any of his further duties as a citizen of Lübeck.⁸² The profit from his Danish commission was insufficient to cover the interest payments of 180 Schilling a year for his house 'Zum Löwen', which he had to turn over to his creditors. Matthaeus Brandis returned to Denmark but moved on to Ribe in 1504, as a consequence not only of his tax problems but also, as we may assume, of the death of Hans Urne, his former patron, the previous year. Brandis appears to have remained in Denmark, leaving Ribe for Copenhagen, where he was active between 1506 and 1512. The year 1512 marks the end of his career as a printer – he may, indeed, have died that year.⁸³

78 Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk*, 5:3.

79 Froeland, *Dansk boghandels historie*, 27.

80 Altmann, *Brandis*, 40.

81 Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk*, vol. 5, XXX.

82 Bruns, *Lebensnachrichten*, 228.

83 Altmann, *Brandis*, 41.

Since the 1470s, as dean of Odense Cathedral, Hans Urne would have known the Brandis brothers and the books they produced for the diocese of Odense, the *Missale Ottoniense*, printed by Lukas Brandis in 1483, and the *Breviarium Ottoniense*, printed by Matthaeus Brandis in 1497. In his will, Hans Urne disposed of a surprisingly high number of books, all of which might have been produced by Matthaeus Brandis, who printed both a Low German chronicle (the *Wendesche Chronike* of 1485) and a Danish chronicle (the Low German version of Saxo Grammaticus' *Denscke Kroneke*, now dated to ca. 1502), as well as an array of religious texts. The books, assumed identical, that Hans Urne bequeathed to members of his family and friends may have come directly from the press of Matthaeus Brandis. Additionally, as Urne and Matthaeus Brandis were in contact at the time of the publication of the Saxo Grammaticus, it seems likely that Hans Urne was involved in the production of this book. As we have seen, this evidence can be interpreted to provide an elegant explanation of the multiple copies of books in Urne will.

If, as seems very likely, the Simon Brandt mentioned in the law suit of 1505 was in fact Matthaeus Brandis, then the diurnal and schoolbooks would have been produced in the period between Matthaeus Brandis' first appearance in Denmark, in 1501, and the composition of Hans Urne's last will in 1503. Matthaeus Brandis collaborated with at least two German publisher-patrons earlier during his career, Hans van Ghetelen from 1487 to 1493 and Jörgen Munter during the second half of the 1490s, both in Lübeck. His collaboration with Hans Urne in Odense between 1501 and 1503 might have been his third such venture. The identification of Simon Brandt as the former Lübeck printer Matthaeus Brandt and his involvement in Hans Urne's printing enterprise gives weight to Altmann's conjectures about as yet undiscovered works produced by Matthaeus Brandis.⁸⁴

The sum of more than 2554 Marks that according to the legal document of 1505 Urne spent on books covered the costs of at least nine editions, and probably more. In light of the lawsuit and its outcome, this venture can hardly be deemed a successful business, but if Brandis had not bungled the printing of the *Diurnale*, he might have saved his house. His continued presence in Denmark suggests that he could make a living for himself there. Certainly his collaboration with Brandis was a positive step by Hans Urne, who had as a result a good stock of books to bequeath to both family and friends, as well as to priests and pupils in his hometown. We know nothing of Hans Urne's

84 Ibid., 63, notes that during the ten years he was active in Denmark, Matthaeus Brandis may have produced more books than have been preserved.

motives, although by helping society, he may have hoped to aid his soul's passage to heaven. Like Laurens and Leno Leven, ten years earlier, Hans Urne, too, may have intended to do a good deed, in his case by commissioning the print of a diurnal and hundreds of schoolbooks. Both the Levens and Urne would then have adapted a novelty of their age to the demands of late medieval piety.

Printing Swedish Books

Swedish pre-Reformation printing covers the years from 1483 to 1525.⁸⁵ Traditionally, the first four printed works registered in the Swedish national bibliography, editions of the works of St Birgitta produced in Lübeck, Rome, Nuremberg and Augsburg, have been deemed part of early Swedish production. With the possible exception of the Lübeck title, however, these printed volumes were probably not produced for Swedish, or Scandinavian, markets, and there is also no evidence that any of them were commissioned by Swedish patrons. Vadstena monastery appears to have played no part in the production of these therefore unauthorized editions. The full edition of the *Revelationes* that was completed in 1492 may have been commissioned by Vadstena monastery in order that extracts and unauthorized pirated translations and editions of the works of St Birgitta might be replaced by an officially sanctioned edition. The Vadstena diary and other sources record that the marketing and sale of this new, authorized edition were in the hands of the printer himself. The fire that destroyed the monastery's printing press in 1495 also destroyed a barrel containing seven copies of the 1492 *Revelationes* that had been left by the printer to be sold on commission. The monastery's concern was for the text, not for the printed book as an object of trade.

Printing in and for Sweden therefore started somewhat later than printing in and for Denmark. In the case of Sweden, the commissioning of books abroad for the domestic market did not precede the establishment of printing. Swedish publisher-patrons were certainly aware of printed books before 1483, the year in which the first Lübeck printer opened a printing shop in Stockholm, but a number of steps would be necessary before they could become significantly involved: they met printers and watched pages printed in order to become acquainted with the techniques involved; they built up experience of commissioning and supervising printing; they learned to

85 Isak Collijn, *Svensk boktryckerihistoria under 14- och 1500-talen* (Stockholm 1947).

compare printed texts, buy books abroad and evaluate their quality and prices; and they had to get to know the new book market, assessing its strength and reliability. Once aware of the realities of this trade, they were ready to give commissions to printers abroad and also felt secure enough to approach printers in their home towns.

Unlike Denmark, printing in Sweden in the earliest period was concentrated in the country's capital. In Stockholm the first itinerant printers had easy access to one of the most important harbours in Sweden and to the merchants who supplied the paper and everything else that was needed for their business. The first clients, however, resided outside Stockholm – the bishops of Uppsala and Strängnäs. Johann Snell from Lübeck, the first printer in Denmark, was also the first printer to establish a shop in Sweden. Snell was followed a few years later by Bartholomaeus Ghotan, another itinerant, Lübeck-based printer. In the 1490s, the Swedish dioceses took their commissions to printing offices abroad. We know of five printers active in Sweden between 1489 and 1500, but further details are sparse. Three names appear in connection with two printing shops. Johannes Fabri (also called Smed or Smit) and his wife, then widow, Anna Fabri were printers of two breviaries for the dioceses of Strängnäs and Uppsala and of the second work to be printed in Swedish, a translation of a devotional text by Jean Gerson, *Aff dyäffwlsens frästilse*; all were produced within two years, between 1495 and 1496. Printing businesses arose beyond Stockholm. For a very short time there were printing presses in the flourishing monasteries of Vadstena and Mariefred, but in the absence of a domestic political centre – a result of the reduced authority of the Danish king – printing in the early sixteenth century was based in the spiritual and intellectual centre of Uppsala, the seat of the archbishop and location of the Swedish university, and remained there until the end of the pre-Reformation period.

After his sojourn in Odense, Denmark, from 1482 to 1483, Johann Snell moved to Stockholm. He had received a commission to print a liturgical book, the *Missale Uppsalense*, the first major work to be printed in Sweden.⁸⁶ He finished this book the following year. As in Odense, he also managed to publish additional works, generating extra income first with a reprint of a 1482 Dutch edition of the *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus*, then with Remigius' classical schoolbook *Magister quae pars*. Before he left Stockholm, Snell also produced an edition of Bartholomaeus de Camerino's letter of indulgence for

86 How contact between the archbishop and Snell was established and the details of the contract signed by the two parties are unknown, yet the archbishop must have had considerable knowledge of the market.

Sweden. The second German called to Sweden was Bartholomaeus Ghotan, who published six works during his yearlong stay in Stockholm. His principal endeavour was the production of no less than three liturgical books, the *Missale Strengnense*, the *Psalterium Upsalense* and the *Manuale Upsalense*. Another school text appeared along with these major projects, *De octo partibus orationis*, as well as *Vita cum miraculis beatae Katharinae*. Finally, Ghotan produced an as yet unrecorded *Manuale Strengnense* (see pp. 58–61).

Although the first printers active in Sweden were itinerant craftsmen, apprentices were engaged in the printing trade much sooner in Sweden than in Denmark. Some of Ghotan's types and printing equipment remained in Stockholm and were used over the next years to print a small number of texts. The printer of the 1489 *Articuli abbreviati*, the first text to be printed in Swedish, is unknown, but we know the names of the craftsmen who published three much larger books with the Ghotan types between 1495 and 1496. We do not know if Johannes Fabri and his wife, Anna, were of Swedish nationality, but unlike their predecessors, they settled in Stockholm, where they printed two liturgical books, the *Breviarium Strengnense* and the *Breviarium Upsalense*; as we have seen, their printing shop also produced the second Swedish text, *Aff dyäffwlsens frästelse*. We can be fairly sure that Swedish monks operated the printing presses in the monasteries of Vadstena and Mariefred in the mid to late 1490s. The *Horae de domina sec. Ecclesias diocese Lincopensis et Scarensis* was printed in the monastery of St Birgitta at Vadstena in 1495, and a member of the Carthusian house at Mariefred called Sigfridus was mentioned in 1498 as the printer of the *De psalterio beatae Mariae virginis* by Alanus de Rupe. The last work printed in Sweden before 1510 was a letter of confraternity for the Cistercian monastery of Gudsberga in the province of Dalarna printed in 1500; its printer is still unknown. From 1510 until the end of the pre-Reformation period, Paul Grijs, who was most probably Swedish, ran a workshop in Uppsala. Of the fifteen of his works that have survived, only two are liturgical texts, a new edition of the *Psalterium Upsalense* and a Book of Hours. The remainder of his production is typical of the other categories of literature printed in Sweden, with ecclesiastical literature that included circular letters and letters of confraternity in first place, followed by a number of devotional texts such as works by Jean Gerson and hagiographic literature, and finally editions of Latin grammar texts for the local school or schools.

Swedish pre-Reformation book production lacks many of the categories that characterised contemporaneous Danish output. Immediately striking is the nearly complete absence of secular literature: there are no historical works, texts related to the contemporary political situation, law books, popular literature or humanistic texts; Latin schoolbooks were the only secular works.

Initially, printing in Sweden followed the same pattern as in Denmark. Although called to print large liturgical works, Johann Snell first produced the *Dialogus creaturarum*, a collection of fables intended for devotional purposes. It would be more than ten years before a further three devotional works saw the light of day, printed by three different printers at three different places. The first of two works printed in 1495 was that translation of a popular text by Jean Gerson; the second was a Book of Hours, always a popular devotional work, printed by the short-lived press in Vadstena monastery. The press of the Carthusian monastery of Mariefred produced a psalter of the Virgin that united the Swedish rosary movement with its principal north European figure, Alanus de Rupe. A further six titles were produced within three years in the middle of the 1510s, among them two works by Jean Gerson, another Book of Hours, legends and a work by Ericus Olai, a Swedish theologian. These and other editions established the printing shop of Paul Grijs in Uppsala as the most prolific and longest lived of all Swedish pre-Reformation presses. The last series of devotional texts falls into another three-year period, 1523 to 1525, and includes, among other works, two Books of Hours, one of which was in Swedish, a late tribute to late-medieval religiosity.

The group of ecclesiastical printed works comprises the usual blend of letters of indulgence and participation, as well as synodical circular letters. According to Per Stobaeus, even the two historical works printed in Sweden must be regarded as ecclesiastical literature. Both the history of Bishop Nicolaus of Linköping and the chronicle of the bishops of Linköping were printed in 1523 at Olaus Ulrici's short-lived press at Söderköping, very likely on the orders of the then bishop of Linköping, Hans Brask, the last Roman Catholic bishop in his diocese and the principal opponent of the growing Lutheran movement.⁸⁷ The production of liturgical books is almost entirely concentrated in a period of about a decade in the early years of printing in Sweden. Between 1484 and 1496, the archdiocese of Uppsala and the diocese of Strängnäs commissioned all of the seven missals, manuals, psalters and breviaries produced, four of which were printed by Bartholomaeus Ghotan and two by his successors as printers in Stockholm, Johannes and Anna Fabri. In 1514, Paul Grijs printed the second edition of the psalter for the archdiocese Uppsala.⁸⁸ The final Catholic liturgical book to be printed was a manual, also commissioned by Bishop Hans Brask in Linköping, as he fought the

87 Per Stobaeus, *Hans Brask: en senmedeltida biskop och hans tankevärld* (Skellefteå 2008), 84ff and 131–132.

88 The lifecycle of a late medieval printed psalter was perhaps 23 years, roughly one generation.

Lutheran challenge to the church. The only secular texts printed in Sweden were schoolbooks: five editions are extant, but the real figure was probably substantially higher (Table 1.4).

Latin schoolbooks (about 12% of all domestic production) were, as we have seen, the only secular literature produced by Swedish printers. In printing schoolbooks, the printers may have been responding to a need articulated by the Swedish book market that could not be fulfilled by the importation of such books from continental printer-publishers. Schoolbooks would then not have been imported to Sweden on a substantial scale, either because of lack of interest from continental printers in a minor, peripheral market or because the needs of that market were met by local printers. By contrast, the absence of other categories of secular printed works such as history, law, science, humanistic literature and popular literature, all of which could be found on the Danish market, could be interpreted as a sign of a lack of interest in such works, but it may also be that this market had been saturated by the importation of works produced in Lübeck, Basel, Nuremberg, Paris or Venice.

TABLE 1.4 *Domestic Swedish book production before 1525 in figures.*

Content	Titles	
	Number	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	37	87
Bible	—	0
Brigittine	—	0
Devotional	14	33
Ecclesiastical	14	33
Liturgical	9	21
<i>Secular literature:</i>	5	12
History	—	0
Humanistic	—	0
Law	—	0
Politics	—	0
Schoolbooks	5	12
Scientific	—	0
Popular	—	0
Total	42	99

A striking 87% of all Swedish pre-Reformation printed production concerned the liturgy, the church and spiritual needs. The largest part (31%), which included many of the earliest books printed in Sweden, consists of nine editions of liturgical books. Ecclesiastical literature accounts for fourteen titles, a group that contains both smaller administrative texts such as letters of indulgence and participation and the statutes of the archdiocese as well as more substantial contributions to the promotion of the cults of saints (the Life of St Catherine) or the history of the church (the chronicle of the bishops of Linköping). Two of these works contain passages in Swedish, but the remainder are in Latin. Of the fourteen devotional works, seven were in Swedish, including a Book of Hours.

The number of printed works recorded in the table above might suggest that the market for domestic production was smaller in Sweden than in Denmark. A similar picture emerges when we consider the printing of works outside Sweden. Few cities abroad were involved in the production of books for the Swedish market, with eighteen works produced in Lübeck between 1484 and 1523, two in Nuremberg, in 1493 and 1498, two in Basel in 1513 and one each from Leipzig, in 1514, and Halberstadt, in 1522. The inclusion of editions of the works of St Birgitta greatly expands the number of foreign cities listed as places of publication in the Swedish national bibliography. From Rome to Mondovi, Augsburg to Nuremberg, Brussels to Cracow, printers published editions of the works of St Birgitta, complete or in part and both in Latin and in translation. Almost all of the editions and translations of the works of St Birgitta recorded in the Swedish national bibliography were printed outside Sweden. The life and work of this saint were of interest to Christians throughout Europe. Most of these editions were clearly not intended for the Swedish book market,⁸⁹ but

89 Several years before they commissioned the printing of the *Revelationes* in Lübeck in 1492, the brothers in Vadstena monastery, the motherhouse of all Brigittine monasteries, had been aware of such material being produced at a significant distance from Sweden. Sometime between 1487 and 1490, two brothers participated in negotiations with an unknown Nuremberg-based printer; see Tore Nyberg, *Dokumente und Untersuchungen zur inneren Geschichte der drei Birgittenklöster Bayerns 1420–1570* (Munich 1972), 390–394. Their contact focused on the aforementioned *Revelationes*, and the printer was most probably Koberger. It seems likely that the brothers in Vadstena received their information in part from the network of Brigittine monasteries in Europe and in part through first-hand knowledge of the international book market. At least three incunabula editions of St Birgitta are found in Swedish collections, and they are also present in other Scandinavian collections in significant numbers: 27 copies of the Lübeck edition of 1492 (GW 4391), 6 copies of the Lübeck edition of 1496 (GW 4395), and 11 copies of the Koberger edition of 1500 (GW 4392).

occasional volumes were printed for the Scandinavian market, and for Sweden in particular. The only Briggittine edition especially commissioned for the Swedish market is the Latin Lübeck edition of 1492.⁹⁰ St Birgitta's revelations were frequently produced for German, Dutch, Italian and Polish markets in both Latin and the vernacular, with her prophecies printed in small format a speciality of Roman printers. The north German editions and translations of her works may have been of significance for Sweden. St Birgitta was the most prominent Swedish saint of the Middle Ages and demand for her works would surely have been very high. The Lübeck editions of 1478, 1485, 1492 and 1496, for example, must have been printed with the Swedish, or wider Scandinavian, market in mind, attractive to both institutional and private customers. Yet the only editions of medieval provenance to have survived are the Lübeck editions of 1492 and 1496 and the Nuremberg edition of 1500. Of these, the Latin edition of 1492 appears to have travelled most widely, including two complete copies now in Denmark and three in Sweden. Fragments of this edition are also preserved in the National Library of Sweden, the Swedish National Archives, and the Läns Museum in Växjö, Sweden. The Ghotan version of 1492 was apparently the most influential pre-Reformation printed edition of the works of St Birgitta, and also the first complete edition. Ghotan had previously established a short-lived printing business in Stockholm, where he had published four major liturgical works in the course of one year, including the *Missale Strengnense*, *Psalterium Upsalense* and the *Manuale Upsalense*. In order to increase his income, he also published at least two minor works for a broader market, the *Vita cum miraculis b. Katherinae* and a Donatus: *De octo partibus orationis*. He had shown himself to be a prolific printer with a programme that included the biography of St Katherine, daughter of St Birgitta.

In September 1491, two brothers left Vadstena monastery for Lübeck in order to supervise the composition, setting and printing of the complete works of St Birgitta.⁹¹ They returned over a year later, with the production of 800 copies on paper and sixteen copies on vellum complete. The diary does not reveal whether the brothers brought any books with them, but we know that at least seven copies had been deposited by the printer with Vadstena monastery by

90 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 117–128.

91 'Anno domini Mcdxcprimo Jn die sanctorum cosme et damiani transibant fratres petrvs jngemari sacerdos et gerardus laicus versus lubeck ad faciendum imprimi libros celestes reuelationum sancte birgitte Et post annum euolutum impressis et perfectis octingentis voluminibus jn papiro et sedecim dumtaxat in pergameno redierunt in monasterium suum Anno dominj Mcdlxxxij circa festum sancte katerine virginis et martiris'; *Vadstena Diary*, in Uppsala University Library MS. C 89 fol. 173r. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 123.

1495, because, as we have seen, the monastery diary tells us that these books were destroyed by a fire on 15 October of that year.⁹² Part of the monastery's agreement with Ghotan seems to have been that the printer would sell (at least part of) the 1492 edition of the *Revelationes* on his own (Table 1.5).⁹³

Information on the connections between Scandinavian customers and foreign printers is uncommon for this period.⁹⁴ We do know, though, that certain Swedish bishops were well aware of the products of foreign presses and of their qualities, which explains why Georg Stuchs in Nuremberg was commissioned to print the two breviaries for Linköping and Skara in 1493 and

TABLE 1.5 *Printers who produced Swedish books abroad.*

Year	Place	Printer
1485–1523	Lübeck	Bartholomaeus Ghotan. Stephanus Arndes. Georg Richolff the Elder. Heirs of Stephanus Arndes
1493–1498	Nuremberg	Georg Stuchs
1513	Basel	Jakob Wolff von Pforzheim
1514	Leipzig	Melchior Lotter
1522	Halberstadt	Laurentius Stuchs
1523	Lübeck/Rostock	Ludwig Dietz

92 'Item in nocte proxima post diem sancti calixti accendebatur ignis vehemens in infirmatorio nouo circa horam primam consumpsitque et in fauillam redegit singula que in illa domo seruabantur cum tecto et intersticiis etcetera tunc combusta fuit ibi inter alia vna tunna plena cum septem voluminibus reuelationum celestium sancte matris nostre b. b. quam deponi hic fecerat quidam ciuis lubecensis pro librorum huius venditione'; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 135. Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandel*, 34–35.

93 When, then, would he have exported his books to Sweden and deposited them at Vadstena? The Lübeck Pfundzollbücher record 1 box and 12 barrels of books belonging to the archbishop of Uppsala that were sent to Sweden around the middle of May the following year. This shipment could have contained the entire edition (see chapter 2). We know of no book printed for the diocese of Uppsala at this time and of no foreign book, liturgical or otherwise, acquired on behalf of the bishop. Perhaps this shipment was a form of support for monastery and printer provided by the archbishop.

94 I have chosen to exclude Birgittine literature printed elsewhere in Europe from my analysis of Swedish literature printed abroad as the 1492 edition of the *Revelationes* was, as far as we know, the only printed work commissioned by a Swedish customer and intended for the Swedish market.

why Jakob Wolff von Pforzheim in Basel produced two liturgical prints in 1513. In a letter dated September 1524 and sent to Petrus Benedicti, then in Germany, Bishop Hans Brask in Linköping asked about the conditions and prices for liturgical works.⁹⁵ Brask knew of a number of books printed in Europe for both Denmark and Sweden that included Christiern Pedersen's edition of a Danish Book of Hours, *Vor Frue Tider*, printed in 1514 in Paris by Jean Badin, the *Missale Lundense*, also printed in Paris in 1514, and the *Missale Upsalense* printed in Basel in 1513. Brask asked Petrus Benedicti to investigate how much the *Missale Lundense* had cost and how much it would cost to print 800 breviaries for his own diocese in the manner of the *Missale Upsalense*. He also updated his correspondent about prices of the *Missale Upsalense*: the merchant – not printer – Jakob Wolff von Pforzheim, who had executed the work, received 6 or 7 Marks for a paper copy and 18 Marks for a vellum copy. Brask never realised his plans for printing a breviary, but thanks to this letter, as well as letters documenting the negotiations between the chapter of Uppsala Cathedral and Petrus Hasse, the representative of an unknown printer or consortium of printers, we have a sense of the information with which customers negotiated print commissions for Swedish dioceses towards the end of the pre-Reformation period (Table 1.6).⁹⁶

What, then, apart from Brigittine literature, did foreign printers produce for the Swedish market?⁹⁷ (We consider here also the *Missale Aboense* of 1488, which was produced for the Finnish diocese.) Religious literature made up 86% of all books produced in Sweden and for Sweden abroad. This figure does not necessarily suggest that Swedish readers were more religious than readers elsewhere, but certainly investors in book production for Sweden favoured ecclesiastical and liturgical literature. Chapters 3 to 5 will show that a good number of books imported into Sweden before the Reformation were of a type not represented in Swedish domestic and foreign book production. More comprehensive domestic production of secular literature such as chronicles or popular literature would have indicated that foreign production could not satiate the national literary appetite. Its absence may be an indication that foreign book producers were able to meet domestic literary needs or that literary taste in Sweden was for works in Latin or Low German, rather than in Swedish. Or perhaps that the national literary market was developing at a slightly slower pace in Sweden than in Denmark. Devotional literature is represented by just two sixteenth-century titles, a psalter of the Virgin Mary by Alanus de Rupe

95 Hedda Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brasks registratur: textutgåva* (Uppsala 2003), no. 256.

96 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 228–233.

97 Carl-Rudolf Gardberg, *Boktrycket i Finland* (Helsinki 1948), 1:53–54.

TABLE 1.6 *Printing for Sweden before the Reformation.*

Content	All titles		Foreign		Swedish	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	60	86	23	82	37	88
Bible	—	0	—	0	—	0
Brigittine ⁹⁸	5	7	5	18	—	0
Devotional	16	23	2	7	14	33
Ecclesiastical	21	30	7	25	14	33
Liturgical	18	26	9	32	9	21
<i>Secular literature:</i>	10	14	5	18	5	12
History	—	0	—	0	—	0
Humanistic	—	0	—	0	—	0
Law	—	0	—	0	—	0
Politics	5	7	5	18	—	0
Schoolbooks	5	7	—	0	5	12
Scientific	—	0	—	0	—	0
Popular	—	0	—	0	—	0
Total	70	100	28	100	42	99

printed in 1506 in Lübeck, which was the second ‘Swedish’ edition after the Mariefred edition of 1498, and a Book of Hours for the dioceses of Linköping and Skara jointly, printed in Leipzig in 1514, the second Swedish Book of Hours after the Vadstena monastery edition of 1495. Ecclesiastical literature produced abroad consists almost entirely of single-sheet prints, mainly letters of indulgence and letters of participation; the only exception is the volume containing the biography and acts supporting the canonisation of St Brynolph, bishop of Skara. All these works were produced in Lübeck. Only in the sixteenth century did domestic presses become involved in the production of this kind of ecclesiastical literature.

Liturgical books intended for Sweden were produced outside Sweden by a number of printers in a range of locations on the European continent. Of the

⁹⁸ The first figure covers all Brigittine literature recorded in the Swedish national bibliography; the second figure represents the number of editions for which there are substantial grounds for that edition to be regarded as part of foreign book production for the Swedish book market, in particular the existence of a contemporary Swedish provenance.

eight titles that saw the light of day, three were produced in Lübeck between 1488 and 1512, two in Nuremberg in the 1490s, two in Basel in 1513, and one in Halberstadt in 1522. As we have seen, in 1524 Hans Brask, bishop of Linköping, was considering having more than 800 copies of a new, second edition of the *Breviarium Lincopense* printed abroad.⁹⁹ All but one of the liturgical works printed before 1488 were produced by printers who had been invited to Sweden to produce specially commissioned books. Between 1488 and 1493, by contrast, all but one printed work was commissioned from printers active outside Sweden. In the 1510s and 1520s, five of the seven liturgical editions that appeared were produced outside Sweden. The simplest explanation for this development is that growing demand for books did not result in growth in the domestic printing industry, but rather in the increased acquisition of books from abroad. Only one liturgical text was commissioned from the press of Paul Grijs in Uppsala, in 1510; although Grijs was active until 1519, he was principally involved in the production of a large number of devotional and ecclesiastical works and school-books. Swedish customers did not turn to foreign printers because they lacked a domestic alternative; more likely, ecclesiastical customers well informed about production abroad were aware that domestic printers could not match the quality and prices they could find elsewhere. No publisher-patrons appear to have invested in high quality equipment at a Swedish printing shop; such substantial investment had to wait until Gustavus Vasa, the newly elected Swedish king, turned his sights on printing, which led to the foundation of the royal printing press in Stockholm in the mid-1520s. The last Catholic liturgical book produced in and for Sweden was the *Manuale Lincopense*, printed at the short-lived press at Söderköping, which was at the disposal of the last catholic bishop of Linköping, the aforementioned Hans Brask.

The political literature recorded in the Swedish national bibliography, like that recorded in the national bibliography of Denmark, was largely intended for a foreign audience. A manifesto against the Danish king Christian II written by the secretary of the Swedish king Gustavus Vasa was printed abroad, in Lübeck and/or Rostock, two cities geographically closer to the north German audience addressed by the manifesto than any printing centre in Sweden. The publication was part of a political game that sought to reinforce the new Swedish authority and revised Scandinavian political geography in the eyes of a north European public.

99 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, no. 256.

The *Manuale Strengnense* and Parallel Printing

In 1949, Erik Segelberg, a Swedish theologian, published an article containing theologically and liturgically founded arguments in support of his thesis that around 1487 Bartholomaeus Ghotan produced not only the *Manuale Upsalense* but also a hitherto unknown *Manuale Strengnense*.¹⁰⁰ Segelberg claimed that fragments of leaves 25, 70 and 77–78 of a *Manuale Strengnense* had survived in a reconstructed copy of the *Manuale Upsalense* in the National Library of Sweden.¹⁰¹ These fragments had been described by Collijn as variants that had been replaced by newly printed leaves or quires during production.¹⁰² According to Segelberg, these four leaves contain text from the liturgy of the diocese of Strängnäs that differs from that of the archdiocese in Uppsala. In all other respect, the *Manuale Upsalense* and the *Manuale Strengnense* would have shared the same ritual and the same liturgical texts. Segelberg analysed the first of the preserved leaves only. Table 1.7, which gives a page-by-page analysis of all the fragments, reveals a number of similarities, as well as differences, between the two versions.

Certain passages in the *Manuale Strengnense* are identical down to the last abbreviation with the corresponding passages in the *Manuale Upsalense* and have been printed from the same forms. This is the case with the beginning of fol. 70r and the whole of fol. 70v and the latter part of fol. 77r down to the beginning of fol. 78r. The way in which part of the text on fol. 70 has been handled at first seems to confirm Collijn's assumption that certain parts of the liturgical formula, in this case the *Peccante me quotidie* and the *Deus in nomine tuo* that follow, were simply misplaced by the printer. The printer could also have placed the wrong antiphony, *Eruisti domine animas eorum ne perirent*, at the top of fol. 77r. The passages that follow in the two works are identical in their setting and the order of their texts, from the antiphony and Psalm 148, *Laudate dominum de celis*, to the concluding *Pater noster* on fol. 78r. In the *Manuale Upsalense* an interpolation follows. Instead of continuing with Psalm

100 Erik Segelberg, 'Manuale Strengnense', *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* (1949), 199–203. Only a more popular presentation that contains no new evidence, Erik Segelberg's 'Manuale Strengnense', *Sörmlandsbygden* 19 (1950), 41–44, was included in Severin Corsten and Reimar Walter Fuchs, *Der Buchdruck im 15. Jahrhundert: Eine Bibliographie* (Stuttgart 1988–1993).

101 Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 2544.

102 'Vidare finns fyra variantblad, nämligen till bl. 25, 70, 77–78, väl beroende på att ett formulär fått en oriktig plats och ett nytt blad eller ark tryckts, utan att de feltryckta bladen blivit makulerade:'. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 84. Collijn was unwilling or unable to support his assertion with further detail.

TABLE 1.7 Manuale Strengnense (MS) and Manuale Upsalense (MU) in comparison.

Folio	<i>Manuale Strengnense</i> (MS)
25r	'Hostias' appears in the MS as part of the <i>Ordo et canon missae</i> . In the MU 'Hostias' appears in the Mass for the dead, <i>Officium pro defunctis</i> , on fol. 79v–80r
25v	'reliquie' and 'Prestante' in MS are missing from MU
25v	'Lauabo' does not appear in MS
25v	'Oblacio' and 'Ornatum' are missing in MU
70r	The beginning, from 'Ab eo ut quiescat' to 'sed parce peccatis meis,' is identical in the MS and the MU. The 'Peccante me' and 'Deus in nomine' that follow in the MS appear on fol. 73v, 'Lectio vij', in the MU.
70v	Identical
77r	'Eruisti', which appears in the MS, is missing in the MU. The remainder of 77r and 77v is identical.
78r	MS is identical with MU until 'A porta inferi', which is repeated once in the MS, but appears at the end of 78v in the MU.
78r	MU has 'Exaltabo te domine'.
78v	MS has 'Exaltabo te domine'. MS follows 'Exaltabo te domine' with the 'A porta inferi' passage, although with slightly different wording at the end.

29, the fragments referred to as part of a *Manuale Strengnense* repeat the *A porta inferi* from the top of the leaf and continue with several lines of a new text, 'Credo videre bona d[omi]ni. In terra viue[ntium]. Requiescant in pace Amen D[omi]ne exaudi o[r]ationem. m[eam]. Et clamor m[eus]. D[omi]n[u]s vobiscum. Oremus. or[aci]o[n]es ut infra post missam'. They then pick up again the thread of the *Manuale Upsalense* with the text of Psalm 29 'Exaltabo te domine'. The interpolation takes a rather different form in the *Manuale Upsalense*, with a slightly different version following the psalm. Overall then, in addition to some variations in spelling that can be attributed to different settings of the same texts, textual elements are rearranged in the rite of the Uppsala diocese and there are also textual differences between the two works.

All the texts that are absent from the Uppsala liturgy but present in that of Strängnäs give grounds to argue that these variants are fragments of another book, a *Manuale Strengnense* that was printed simultaneously with the *Manuale Upsalense* by Bartholomaeus Ghotan. The short antiphony 'Eruisti d[omi]ne a[n]i[m]as eorum ne p[er]irent' is missing from the top of fol. 70r.

Most of the variant texts are found on fol. 25: the 'Hostias et preces' in the *Manuale Upsalense*, part of the Mass for the dead on fol. 79v–80a, is here part of the *Ordo et Canon Missae* and follows the example of the *Missale Strengnense* of 1487. The two texts on fol. 25v, 'Prestante domino nostro ihesu' and the continuation of the Mass, 'hic deponatur hostia dicens Oblatio ista prosit omnibus vivis et defunctis ad vitam sempiternam. Amen. Ornatum et signatum',¹⁰³ are both missing in the *Manuale Upsalense*, which instead parallels the aforementioned *Missale Strengnense*. Some of the texts of the *Manuale Upsalense*, namely the 'Lauabo inte innocentes manus meas' (Psalm 25) and 'In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito', both on fol. 25v, are omitted from the variant leaves, which accords with their absence from the Strängnäs rite.

The only possible explanation for this mixture of identical settings, re-arrangements of texts and the inclusion or exclusion of other texts is that Ghotan printed two manuals at the same time in 1487 in Stockholm, one for the Uppsala diocese and the other for the Strängnäs diocese. Sven Helander confirms that the liturgies for the dioceses of Uppsala and Strängnäs had much in common, including the Mass for the saints.¹⁰⁴ According to Segelberg, Ghotan designed the text for the Uppsala liturgy and inserted Strängnäs texts in those few places they were required. Using this method, Ghotan would have been able to produce two manuals virtually simultaneously. It is telling that Ghotan is thought to have produced three editions at the same time of another book only a year later. The *Missale Aboense*, printed in Lübeck in 1488 in 120 copies on paper and vellum for the Finnish diocese of Turku/Åbo, has traditionally been regarded as one part of a twin edition, with the other part the *Missale Dominicanum*.¹⁰⁵ The two works were in large part identical, and Ghotan provided the sheets that would be sold as the *Missale Aboense* to the diocese of Turku/Åbo along with a special woodcut, an introduction by the bishop and a colophon. In his doctoral thesis from 1925, Aarno Malin noticed another parallel, with the calendar of Hungarian saints.¹⁰⁶ He argued that Ghotan had produced three variants of the missal simultaneously, one Finnish, one Dominican, and one Hungarian-Dominican. This achievement would

103 The rest of the text is missing as a result of the loss of the vellum on which it was printed.

104 Sven Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin: studier i helgonlängd, tidegård och mässa* (Uppsala 2001), 299f and 312, does not mention the *Manuale Strengnense*, but his analysis of the medieval liturgy in Uppsala reveals a large number of elements that differ from the Strängnäs liturgy, although there were also many similarities.

105 Robert Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires imprimés: supplément aux catalogues de Weale et Bohatta* (Paris 1990). Häkli *Bartholomaeus Ghotan. Boken i Finland*, 53 and 166.

106 Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender*, 139–140.

have been preceded, it now appears, by earlier experience of parallel printing, with the 1487 manuals for the Swedish dioceses of Uppsala and Strängnäs. Within two or three years – assuming that the work on the Swedish manuals started immediately after his arrival in Stockholm in 1486 – Ghotan twice produced liturgical handbooks by adopting a strategy based on parallel printing. This mode of operation would have included resetting the text to accommodate minor textual deviations – for example, the words ‘pro ecclesia Aboensi’ needed to be dropped from the heading ‘Incipiunt sequentie de sanctis et de beata virgine pro ecclesia Aboensi’, which appeared on the eight unsigned leaves at the end of the calendar in the *Missale Aboense*.¹⁰⁷ With similar intent, Ghotan included before the first leaf of the *Missale Aboense* a leaf containing a woodcut and a preface by Bishop Konrad Bitz.¹⁰⁸

Bartholomaeus Ghotan appears to have been a master of parallel printing, but he was not alone in using this technique, which provided a practical and successful means of making full use of limited resources, the close similarities across various liturgical rites within the medieval church, and the benefits of larger print runs. Instances of the parallel acquisition or sale of books have a form and intent similar to the parallel production of liturgical books described here. A good number of copies of the psalter produced by Ghotan in Magdeburg in 1481 are still to be found in Swedish incunabula collections, and there is consensus that the archbishop of Uppsala bought at least part of this edition for use in his own diocese. Similarly, in 1488 the bishop of Turku/Åbo in Finland acquired a major part of Ghotan’s edition of a psalter printed in Lübeck, of which even more copies survive today. Neither of these liturgical books was produced specifically for the Scandinavian market, but their purchase for Scandinavian dioceses is not entirely surprising, for it was a highly rational way of benefitting from developing north European book markets. The roles of the bishops involved can be located somewhere between publisher-patrons, commissioners and purchasers, while the printers performed a role with elements of both printer and publisher. The books themselves can be regarded both as commissioned for specific dioceses of the medieval church in Sweden and as designed and produced by a printer-publisher for an open market, with the production of twin or parallel editions a sign of extensive engagement in local or regional book markets. The complex structures and needs of the Scandinavian pre-Reformation book markets allowed for markedly rational print and trade solutions.

107 Ibid., 139.

108 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 87–91.

Swedish and Danish Book Production in Comparison

The small number of printed works produced and the limited number of literary categories they covered suggest that the Swedish book market was less significant than the Danish book market in every aspect. Table 1.8 provides a comparative illustration of those markets.

Printers in Denmark produced thirty-nine titles of religious literature, printers in Sweden thirty-seven. The numbers are similar, but when we break down this general category differences emerge. Ecclesiastical literature was produced in greater number both within Sweden and abroad, but liturgical prints were produced or commissioned more frequently in and for Denmark than in and for Sweden. We find the main difference between Danish and Swedish book markets more broadly when we look at the figures for secular prints, with

TABLE 1.8 *Danish and Swedish print production before the Reformation in comparison.*

	Denmark					
	All editions		Printed abroad		Printed in Denmark	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	70	53	31	56	39	51
Bible	4	3	2	4	2	3
Brigittine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Devotional	21	16	9	16	12	16
Ecclesiastical	13	10	2	4	11	14
Liturgical	32	24	18	33	14	18
<i>Secular literature:</i>	62	47	24	44	38	49
History	6	5	1	2	5	6
Humanistic	2	2	0	0	2	3
Law	7	5	1	2	6	8
Politics	18	14	13	24	5	6
Schoolbooks	22	17	9	16	13	17
Scientific	2	2	0	0	2	3
Popular	5	4	0	0	5	6
Total	132	100	55	100	77	100

sixty-two Danish titles and ten Swedish titles. Half of all these titles in Denmark were concerned with history, politics and the law, and the number of editions of schoolbooks is also very high, with twenty-two in Denmark compared to only five in Sweden. The books written, edited and published by Christiern Pedersen in Paris in the 1510s had a strong Danish feel, and although there was no strong Swedish parallel, Pedersen's books were not restricted to a Danish market alone, for the Swedish king Gustavus Vasa complained that Pedersen's editions (most probably a reference to his French works) were far too widespread in Sweden to his taste. Other Danish titles would also have found a market in Sweden. We should recall that Sweden was part of a united Scandinavian kingdom under the Danish crown until the beginning of the 1520s. There was no Swedish translation of such an internationally important text as *Dat gotlansche Waterrecht*, a collection of Baltic maritime laws and regulations. The one pre-Reformation edition, published in Low German in Copenhagen

Sweden					
All editions		Printed abroad		Printed in Sweden	
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
60	86	23	82	37	88
0	0	0	0	0	0
5	7	5	18	0	0
16	23	2	7	14	33
21	30	7	25	14	33
18	26	9	32	9	22
10	14	5	18	5	12
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
5	7	5	18	0	0
5	7	0	0	5	12
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
70	100	28	100	42	100

in the year 1505, was intended not simply for Denmark, but for all communities around the Baltic coast where the north German language was read and understood.¹⁰⁹

As this chapter has highlighted, the history of printing in or for Scandinavia alone cannot provide a comprehensive picture of the various complex Scandinavian book markets. The quantities we have examined are too small and shares of the total number of titles, editions and copies that made up the Scandinavian pre-Reformation book markets are too accidental. What is more, the categories of domestic printing do not line up with the totality of findings from private and institutional book collections. There are many indications that Swedish and Danish customers were aware of the nature and quality of continental European book production, which suggests that further investigation of the international book history of Scandinavia, the subject of chapters 3 to 6, will throw useful light on the gap between what was printed in Denmark and Sweden and what is found in Danish or Swedish pre-Reformation book collections.

109 Irntraud Rösler, “Dat Gotlansche Waterrecht”: Bemerkungen zu den hansischen Seerechten, insbesondere zum Kopenhagener Druck von 1505’, *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien IV: Akten des 4. Nordischen Symposiums* (Berlin 1993), 118–133, here 121.

Scandinavian Book Trade and the European Context

Soon after the invention of printing and long before the first printers reached the shores of the Baltic, printed books were being brought to Scandinavia. The Gutenberg Bible itself was such an object of trade that found its way north to the Baltic: we know of four copies sold in northern Europe, acquired by the church of St Mary in Rendsburg and the Cistercian monastery in Cismar, both in the Danish duchy of Slesvig, the Cistercian monastery in Pelplin, Pomerania, and the Brigittine monastery in Vadstena, Sweden. While codices had usually been acquired not far from where they had been produced, printed books soon travelled much further to meet their customers. From the earliest days of print, printers faced the challenge of selling voluminous works in large editions. Production required substantial financial investment, but in an as-yet-undefined market, the return on that investment could lie some way in the future, if it materialized at all. Printed books very quickly became an object of trade, and as such were associated with long-distance transportation, shipping, advertising and selling. This chapter will examine the trade that brought books into Scandinavia during the first seventy years of printed production.

A much larger number of early printed books than Scandinavian book history has recognised were imported into and sold in Scandinavia. Analysis of the general rate of destruction of pre-Reformation printed books suggests that more works from that period have been lost than are known to be extant, creating a fundamental lacuna for research in this field.¹ Lacking these volumes, we can turn instead to secondary sources of information on the presence of books in pre-Reformation Scandinavia. The results are stunning. For decades efficient book trading systems with the town of Lübeck at their heart, the centre of Hanseatic trade on the Baltic, ensured that Scandinavia was supplied with a good range of high quality books from Germany and Italy. The quality of this selection was superior to anything that could be produced by printers active in Scandinavia, and these works were available at prices that Scandinavian printers could not afford to undercut. Before looking at the books that reached

1 Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit – Quantitative und Qualitative Analyse*, 2 vols. (Munich 1998).

Scandinavia in the decades before the Reformation, this chapter will discuss the printers, publishers and booksellers who are known to have been significantly involved in the trade that brought books to Scandinavia. That importation of books into Scandinavia significantly affected local printers and helped shape north European literary culture.

We can sketch the market by looking at the integration of continental European liturgical books into Scandinavian book culture. In the pre-Reformation period, when all liturgy was in Latin, variations in the liturgies used by churches, monastic orders and other larger religious bodies were small. Clerics and lay people all over Europe adapted foreign liturgica for use in their home dioceses. South German psalters were employed in the Swedish dioceses of Skara and Uppsala. Swedish liturgical books could be used throughout almost the whole country. The *Graduale Arosiense* for the diocese of Västerås, Sweden, and the *Manuale Upsalense* of 1487 for the archdiocese of Uppsala were used simultaneously in the same parish, although they have been described as partly incompatible.² Other printed foreign liturgical books, usually based on the *Missale Romanum*, were used within monastic networks. The missal printed on behalf of Nordic Franciscans was widely used in monasteries in Denmark, Sweden and Norway,³ although unfortunately, no more than fragments of forty-four leaves from two or more copies of this missal have survived, having been used as archival wrappers.⁴ The 1504 Franciscan missal was even used outside the order, although this practice was certainly not intended when the work was printed. Erik Valkendorf, archbishop of Trondheim, was motivated to have his own missal printed by the imperfect handwritten missals found in the archdiocese and by the use of Franciscan, Cistercian and Dominican missals in many parish churches in Norway.⁵ A fragment of an earlier Franciscan missal printed in Italy around 1472 has recently been found in the National Archives of Norway.⁶ A copy of the *Diurnale Cisterciense*⁷ bound together with a *Psalterium Cisterciense* was part of a delivery of books to Christiern Pedersen registered in Malmö around 1520

2 Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, 220.

3 *Missale ordinis Fratrum Minorum praecipue provinciae Dacie*, Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes, 1504. Roelvink, *De nordiska franciskanernas missale*.

4 Two copies in Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, one of which completes the fragments in the university libraries of Bergen and Uppsala; Uppsala also holds fragments of another copy; Roelvink, *De nordiska franciskanernas missale*, 117, 126–127.

5 Ibid., 122–123.

6 The single vellum fragment has been used as an archival wrapper, indicating its pre-Reformation provenance.

7 This copy may be the edition printed by Peter Drach the Younger in Speyer in 1487–1488.

(see pp. 87–103). Other foreign titles are also known to have belonged to Scandinavian Cistercian monasteries.⁸ In Finland, the diocese of Turku/Åbo had especially strong ties to the Dominican liturgy, which explains the many copies of Dominican books in use in Finland during the Middle Ages, according to Kauko Pirinen almost with official approbation.⁹ Many such works, or at least fragments of them, have survived. The *Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum* in Anton Koberger's 1485 edition was widely used: six copies as well as fragments of another two copies are preserved in the National Library of Finland alone. Hollola parish church in Finland not only acquired a copy of the Koberger edition, but also owned a copy of Nicolas Jenson's 1481 edition. Another copy of Jenson's breviary, once used in Finland, is now in the National Library of Sweden. Andreas Torresanus' later Venice edition of 1492 was used in Sweden, with copies in the Dominican monastery in Strängnäs and in Överselö parish church in the diocese of Strängnäs. The *Missale Minorum Ultramontanum* was intended for use in Hungary and was therefore originally at home in a distant liturgical tradition, yet a copy once belonged to the late-medieval cathedral library in Västerås.¹⁰

Foreign liturgical books were used, with minor or major adjustments, because they were needed. Sven Helander and Jan Brunius have made important contributions to our knowledge of the use of foreign liturgical literature in Swedish parish churches.¹¹ Parish churches in rural areas did not always follow the stipulated liturgical rite of the diocese to which they belonged. Liturgical books representing different liturgical traditions, both Swedish and foreign, could sometimes be in heavy use side-by-side, having been acquired directly by the parish church in question or received as a donation. The printed

8 A copy of the *Exordium ordinis cisterciensium*, Landshut 1520, as well as several copies of the *Missale cisterciense* belonged to the library of Øm monastery.

9 Kauko Pirinen, *Finlands kyrkohistoria*. Vol. 1: *Medeltiden och reformationstiden* (Skellefteå 2000), 85, 144.

10 That copy was published in Verona by Petrus Maufer de Maliferis in 1480; Jacob Quensel, *Catalogus librorum vetustiorum quos hodie superstites servat Bibliotheca Templi Cathedralis Upsaliensis. Anno domini MDCCLI*. Manuscript Uppsala landsarkiv Ms. 'Domkyrkans deposition nr 16', no. 51. One cannot rule out the possibility that this copy was seventeenth-century war booty.

11 Sven Helander, 'Sockenkyrkans liturgiska profil', in *Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige* (Stockholm 1991), 189–230. Jan Brunius, 'Sockenkyrkornas liturgiska böcker: Studier i pergamentomslagen i Riksarkivet', in *Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige* (Stockholm 1991), 457–472. Jan Brunius, 'De medeltida bokfragmenten och deras proveniens i Riksarkivet', in *Ny väg till medeltidsbrev* (Stockholm 2002), 390–403, is a good summary of the latest research, executed as part of the medieval parchment wrappers project at the National Archives of Sweden.

Psalterium Upsalense of 1487, which contained the rite of the Swedish archdiocese of Uppsala, was relatively widely spread among parish churches in the neighbouring diocese of Strängnäs. This situation surely reflects not only private or institutional liturgical use, but also book-trade practices. While still resident in Magdeburg in Germany, Bartholomaeus Ghotan produced a psalter in an edition of one thousand copies.¹² The relatively large number of copies of this book that can be found in Scandinavia points at book export on a large scale rather than isolated individual acquisitions. Parts of the edition seem to have followed Ghotan first to Sweden in 1487 and then to Finland in connection with the production of the *Missale Aboense* of 1488, commissioned by Bishop Conrad Bitz.¹³ Fragments of five copies of the Magdeburg *Psalterium* that had been used as archival wrappers are preserved in the National Library of Finland.¹⁴ Seven more or less complete copies once belonged to churches in central and northern Sweden that included Bred, Funbo, Västerlövsta, Bollnäs and Harmånger, most of them part of the archdiocese of Uppsala.¹⁵ The Bollnäs copy of the Magdeburg *Psalterium* has been annotated in a highly telling manner. The annotations by a contemporary hand adjusted the work to accord with the liturgy in Uppsala diocese as used before the appearance of the 1487 *Psalterium Upsalense*. According to Helander, these alterations were easy to execute because of the limited overlap of psalter and liturgy, which covered only parts of the hymns.¹⁶ Foreign liturgical books could apparently be adapted quite easily to any Scandinavian rite. It is certainly possible that the Ghotan psalter was imported into the dioceses of Uppsala and Turku/Åbo, and perhaps more widely into Sweden, deliberately, systematically and in large number.

Another example of a foreign liturgical book present in Scandinavia is provided by a fragment found in the National Library of Sweden bearing the mysterious handwritten title '*Psalt. & Hymn. Scar.*'¹⁷ The full work from which

12 *Psalterium cum canticis*, Magdeburg: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1481.

13 *Missale Aboense*, Lübeck: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, after 17 August 1488. *Boken i Finland*, 53ff.

14 National Library of Finland, inc. K.121, C.I.14, C.I.2, C.I.3, C.I.4.

15 Two are now held by Uppsala University Library (inc. 1270 A & B), one by the National Library of Sweden (inc. 909) and a fourth has been restored to Bollnäs parish church (formerly inc. 1270 C); Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 3272. The remaining three copies are described by Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 55, as well as by Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, 219.

16 Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, 219.

17 Wolfgang Undorf, 'Brynolf Gerlaksson och Breviarium Scarense', in *Hielp Maria: En bok om biskop Brynolf Gerlaksson*, ed. Johnny Hagberg (Skara 2005), 77–82, here 81.

that fragment comes has been identified as a south German psalter printed in Strasbourg by Friedrich Ruch between about 1497 and 1499.¹⁸ This psalter shows great similarities with the *Breviarium Scarense* printed in Nuremberg in 1498 by Georg Stuchs. The order of the psalms in the two works is the same, and yet quite different from that found in most Swedish liturgical works printed before the Reformation. The fragment is heavily annotated and has been adjusted to liturgical use in Skara diocese in a contemporary hand. Almost all the annotations add to the imported German psalter hymns, antiphonaries and psalms that would have been sung or read between the psalter psalms, in accordance with the order established in the contemporary *Breviarium Scarense*. It seems highly likely that the anonymous commentator had a copy of the *Breviarium Scarense* to hand, and some of the annotations are copied from that breviary or refer directly to it.¹⁹ Imported liturgical books could evidently be used alongside newly printed corrected liturgical texts. I have uncovered a fragment of a still unidentified printed work in Lagga parish church that is annotated in a way very similar to that of the aforementioned psalter, to adjust it to the rite of the Uppsala archdiocese. David McKitterick has warned us to be alert for such discoveries.²⁰ Printed books were neither standardized nor uniform, let alone fixed to a certain usage. Readers of early printed books did not regard those works as finished products but instead adjusted them to their own needs, be it in the details of the work's appearance, such as illumination and rubrication, or in the text itself. While the examples presented above concern single copies of three different printed works, their common treatment suggests that the use of hand-written alterations to create local versions of imported liturgica must have been a widespread phenomenon. In light of the lack of printed texts for every diocesan liturgy, it seems possible that the alteration of printed copies of the liturgical rites of one diocese in order that they could be used in another diocese was official church policy. That stance would have facilitated the importation of such books into Scandinavia.

We find additional foreign liturgical books in large numbers in Scandinavian libraries. Among these works is another text printed by Bartholomaeus Ghotan, the *Missale Dominicanum* of 1488.²¹ The only copy preserved in Scandinavia is now in the National Library of Sweden but has obvious Finnish provenance.

18 Wolfgang Undorf, 'Ett okänt Psalterium ett Hymnarium Scarense?', *Föreningen för Västgötalitteratur Meddelande* (2003) no. 2, 6–7.

19 For example, an annotation in the margins of Psalm 68 refers directly to *Breviarium Strengnense* fol. d2, and Psalm 70 is identical with the form in *Breviarium Strengnense*.

20 David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450–1830* (Cambridge 2003).

21 *Missale dominicanum seu Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Lübeck: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1488.

The *Missale Dominicanum* produced by Wenssler in Basel in 1488 has a rather late Norwegian provenance, but its binding and other signs of provenance suggest it was imported before the Reformation. Liturgica produced specifically for the Dominican order must also have been present in Scandinavian monasteries. There were at least thirty Dominican houses in Scandinavia before the Reformation, and although we have traces of books and libraries from only eight, none of these Dominican books has a specifically Scandinavian Dominican provenance.

The Character of the Book Trade

Trade and tradesmen formed the umbilical cord that connected the younger Scandinavian book market to its nourishing mother on the European continent. The books, texts and ideas that were transferred determined the scale and nature of the growth of the Scandinavian market. The health of this trade is evident in the speed with which works could cross Europe. The journey of a volume acquired in 1493 by Severinus Pauli, a Danish student at the University of Rostock, is illuminating. The volume includes copies of Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo's *Supplementum chronicarum*, printed by Nermardinus Rizus in Venice and dated 15 February 1492, that is, 15 February 1493, and Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietate rerum* in Anton Koberger's edition of 1492. The binding contains printer's waste from Koberger's edition of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*, printed on 12 July 1493. Within less than a year, this Venetian print had been imported to Nuremberg and reached Rostock, its final destination, on the southern coast of the Baltic. Its progress is impressive.

Books produced in printing shops on the continent could take less than two years, and in some cases even less than one year, to travel to a destination still more remote than Rostock, that is, to the other side of the Baltic. The *Revelationes* of St Birgitta printed in Lübeck in 1492 seem to have arrived in Sweden the following year. The 1483 Stockholm edition of the *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus* was modelled on a Dutch print dated 1482. Works by Robertus Holkot and Antoninus Florentinus, printed in 1483 and 1486 respectively, must have reached Clemens Rytingh in Sweden within two years. In 1531 the later Finnish reformer Michael Agricola, resident in the Finnish town of Turku/Åbo, acquired a copy of Martin Luther's *Ennarationes seu postillae* that had been printed in Strasbourg the year before.²² Vammala parish church in

22 Otfried Czaika, 'Plinius världshistoria med Agricolas ägaranteckning – Ett fynd i Roggebibliotekets samlingar', *Biblis* (2019) no. 51: 30–39, here 35.

Finland acquired its copy of Koberger's edition of the *Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum* in 1485, two years after its publication. An anonymous customer in Stockholm acquired his copy of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, printed in 1476 by Georg Husner in Strasbourg, two years after it had been printed. The youngest books among the stock assembled by Christiern Pedersen in Malmö in the early 1520s seem to have found their way to Malmö within two years of their appearance. In a letter dated 20 July 1523, Hans Brask, bishop in Linköping, informed the brothers in the Brigittine monastery of Vadstena that he had just received a copy of the Rome 1521 edition of Henry VIII's *Assertio septem*, sent to him by the papal court.²³

For such journeys to have taken between one and two years suggests that the capabilities of the formal transnational book trade between the European continent and Scandinavia were impressive. The speed with which books could travel to Scandinavia appears to have remained stable over a period of some sixty years, from the late 1470s to the early 1520s. Books could move even more quickly, especially when they were imported via informal and more spontaneous channels, as was the case for the works of Luther that spread through Söderköping to Sweden in the early 1520s, transported by German merchants and other travellers. Scandinavian customers appear to have been able to count on the timely arrival of books that were part of a highly reliable international book market, a precondition for the lively, substantial and high quality Scandinavian book culture before the Reformation.

The earliest archival evidence of hanseatic merchants trading in books is dated 1465, with their trade in printed books officially dated not before 1474.²⁴ The earliest products of the printing press to be distributed in Scandinavia, though, were not objects of trade, but letters of indulgence. On 29 April 1455, Conradus Winter issued a letter of indulgence in Copenhagen that had been printed by Gutenberg and Fust in Mainz the previous year. Winter changed the printed date '1454' by hand to '1455'.²⁵ Many letters of indulgence have survived inside book bindings. Although such material was not traded in its own right, it tells us much about the broader trade. Bindings can reveal which trade routes were most travelled and can also bear witness to towns and individuals involved in the book trade. The evidence provided by book bindings also allows us to date and locate books that otherwise contain no provenance. Bindings that can be attributed to Scandinavian bookbinders are particularly revealing

23 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, 182–183 no. 99.

24 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1568.

25 Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 110–111.

and can be complemented with information on the book trade infrastructure extracted from other sources.

The number of books transshipped in Lübeck cannot be determined today,²⁶ but there is consensus that it must have been high.²⁷ The study of bindings is one means of identifying books that passed through that city on their way to Scandinavia. Some of the earliest bindings carried out in Lübeck have been attributed to Heinrich Coster, active between 1455 and 1486,²⁸ with a few of these bindings containing books printed in Mainz as early as 1460/1469. The number of books and bindings that can be associated with Coster grew after the early 1470s, an indication that the size of the book trade in general was reaching considerable heights. The volume of work enabled Coster to employ several journeymen to help him in his growing book-binding and book-selling business.²⁹ Other bindings have been attributed to the anonymous bookseller who has been termed the 'Schwedischer Buchführer', although this tag covers works by different binders.³⁰ The previously anonymous 'Akelei-master' has now been identified as the printer Stephan Arndes, who later commissioned bindings from the Christoph-master (Table 2.1).³¹

A large number of bindings have either been destroyed – through rebinding or removal of the original binding, for example – or disappeared together with the books they enclosed. Although many bindings have not been fully identified, some contain evidence of their origins that book historians have

26 Grimm's statements ('Die Buchführer', 1568–1569), for example, are unsupported by any sources.

27 Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 17–20, records that whole stocks of unbound books seem to have imported to Lübeck, especially from Mainz and Rostock, only to be exported again, mainly to the Scandinavian countries.

28 Ilse Schunke and Konrad von Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Einbanddurchreibungen nach Motiven geordnet und nach Werkstätten bestimmt und beschrieben*. Vol. 2: *Werkstätten* (Berlin 1996), 164.

29 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 164.

30 Schunke and Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung*, 167. The two bindings now in Uppsala University Library appear to be the two bindings previously described by Collijn; see Holger Nickel, 'Zu Buchhandel und Buchproduktion im nordeuropäischen Raum während der Inkunabelzeit', in *Bibliophilie und Buchgeschichte in Finnland*, ed. Esko Häkli and Friedhilde Krause (Berlin 1988), 25–31, here 29, and Jürgen Geiß, 'Einbände für den Barther Reformator Johannes Block (1470/80–1544/45)'. Part 4: 'Lübeck, Schwedischer Buchführer (S-S II 167f.)', *Einbandforschung* (2004) 15:24–32.

31 Schunke and Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung*, 161–162; Lohmeier, 'Neues über Steffen Arndes', 56.

TABLE 2.1 *Bindings from identified north German bookbinders.*

Edition	Bookbinder	Provenance
Johannes Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli</i> , Rostock: Fratres Domus Horti Viridis, 1476	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck, using maculated leaves from the shop of Lucas Brandis, 1475	Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 697
Johannes Gritsch <i>Quadragesimalis</i> , Nuremberg: Stuchs, 1488	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck, using maculated leaves from the shop of Lucas Brandis, 1474	Benedictus Petri, Brigittine monastery Vadstena, then Sveno Jacobi Skara, now Stockholm KB inc. 493
Johannes Molitoris <i>Tabula</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1486	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck, using maculated leaves from the shop of Lucas Brandis, 1475	Clemens Rything, Stockholm Dominican monastery, now Stockholm KB inc. 740
Johannes de Tambaco <i>Consolatio theologiae</i> , Strasbourg: Reyser(?)	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck, using a maculated leaf of a Low German incunable	Laurentius Magnus, Stockholm Dominican monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 853A
Henricus de Gorichem <i>Quaestiones in S. Thomam</i> , Esslingen: Fyner, 1478	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 685
Hieronimus <i>Vitae patrum</i> , Strasbourg: Printer of the 1483 <i>Vitas patrum</i> , 1485	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Laurentius Andreae, Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 716
Johannes Balbus <i>Catholicon</i> , Mainz, 1460/1469–1473	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Stockholm KB inc. 137
Johannes de S. Geminiano <i>Summa</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff, 1485	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Clemens Rything, Dominican monastery Stockholm, now Uppsala University inc. 851
Johannes Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli</i> , Strasbourg: Rusch	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 695
Johannes Herolt <i>Sermones</i> , Rostock: Fratres, 1476	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Stockholm KB inc. 520

(Continued)

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Edition	Bookbinder	Provenance
Caecilius Cyprianus <i>Epistolae</i> , Deventer: Paffraet 1479	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Clemens Henricus Rytingh, Dominican monastery Stockholm, then Mathias, dean at Uppsala Cathedral, now Västerås SB inc. 46
Conradus de Alemannia <i>Sermones de tempore</i> , Deventer: Paffraet, 1484	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Uppsala Cathedral Library, now Uppsala University inc. 699
Petrus Lombardus <i>Sententiarum</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1481	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Laurentius Haquini, Uppsala, now Uppsala University inc. 1192
Thomas Aquinas <i>Summa theologiae</i> , Cologne: Zell	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3929
Thomas Cantopratenensis <i>Bonum universale</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff, 1479	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Kanutus Johannis, Stockholm Franciscan monastery, now Stockholm KB inc. 1416
Conradus de Alemania <i>Concordantiae biblicorum</i> , Strasbourg: Mentelin	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Ragvaldus Ingemundi, archdeacon at Uppsala Cathedral, now Västerås SB inc. 44
Flavius Josephus <i>Historia de antiquitate judaica</i> , Lübeck: Brandis, 1476	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Gotmann von Ravensburg, Strängnäs, now Stockholm KB inc. 621
Thomas Cantipratensis <i>Bonum universale</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff, 1479	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck	Kanutus Johannes & Laurencius Edberni, Stockholm Franciscan monastery, then Strängnäs Cathedral, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1541
<i>Prologus Arminensis in mappam Terrae sanctae</i> , Lübeck: Brandis, 1478	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck(?), binding contains macu- lated leaves from the shop of Lucas Brandis	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3381

(Continued)

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Edition	Bookbinder	Provenance
Johannes de Tambaco <i>Consolatio theologiae</i> , Strasbourg: Reyser(?)	Heinrich Coster, Lübeck(?), using printer's waste apparently from the shop of Lucas Brandis	anonymous Swedish collection
Diaz de Montalvo <i>Repertorium</i> , Lyons: Siber, 1484	Lübeck, containing printer's waste from the shop of Bartholomaeus Ghotan	Strängnäs Cathedral Library
Jacob Spenger & Henricus Institoris <i>Malleus malefi-</i> <i>carum</i> , Nuremberg; Koberger, 1494	Lübeck, using printer's waste from Steffen Arndes about 1495	Johannes Matthie, bishop in Strängnäs, now Strängnäs Cathedral
Bonaventura <i>Libri et</i> <i>tractatus</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff, 1486	Lambertus Lewetzow, Rostock	Kanutus Johannis, Franciscan monastery in Stockholm, now Uppsala University inc. 355

not yet been able to access.³² Whatever the route books took to travel north, most works were unbound when they reached Lübeck, where they usually passed through the hands of the town's bookbinders. By the 1480s, the Lübeck style of binding had been introduced into Scandinavia by itinerant, Lübeck-based printer-bookbinders and was rapidly adopted by Scandinavian bookbinders. Book bindings that are deemed north German in style could have been created in Lübeck or executed by Scandinavian binders. From the date of printing of the texts they enclose, and from the addressees and dates of provenance – although these dates are not infrequently little more than a rather vague *ante quem* – we can conclude that these works had similar origins and had followed similar paths to pre-Reformation Scandinavia. Bindings that

32 Sten G. Lindberg's collection, donated to the National Library of Sweden, holds many copies, descriptions and identifications of north German and Scandinavian pre-Reformation bindings that are primarily in Swedish collections, but the collection has not been accessible to researchers because of the terms of the donation.

have been described as north German enclose, for example, copies of the *Missale Slesvicense* printed – and probably also bound – by Stephan Arndes in Lübeck. When the binders in Lübeck were unable to deliver all the bindings required, their colleagues in nearby cities, especially in Rostock, might have stepped in. The house of the Vita Communis in Rostock is known to have owned bound books that had been printed in Germany, France and Italy, but the brothers appear to have received their books from Lübeck (Table 2.2).³³

TABLE 2.2 *Anonymous north German and Rostock book bindings.*

Edition	Binding	Provenance
Bernardinus Senensis <i>Sermones</i> , Basel: Amerbach, 1489	North German	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 599
Bonaventura <i>Diaeta salutis</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff, 1474	North German	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 810
Gregorius I. <i>Moralia in Job</i> , Cologne: Winters	North German	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1792
Ludolphus de saxonía <i>Vita Christi</i> , Cologne: Goetz, 1474	North German	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 2542
Robertus Holkot <i>Opus super Salomonis</i> , Cologne: Winters	North German	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1997
Thomas Aquinas <i>Super primo libro Sententiarum</i> , Cologne: Quentell, 1480	North German	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3943
Gerson <i>Opera</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff, 1483–1484	North German	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1697
Avicenna <i>Canon medicinae</i> , Venice: Bertoch, 1489–1490	North German	Stockholm Cathedral, now Stockholm KB inc. 134
<i>Biblia latina</i> , Nuremberg, ca. 1491–1494	Rostock	Laurentius Laurentii, then Tronaes parish church, now Oslo University inc. 65

(Continued)

33 Ursula Altmann, 'Der Rostocker Einband', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 29 (1996), 212–228, here 225. A small group of pre-Reformation Rostock bindings were produced not for export but for a local Swedish customer, Sveno Jacobi, dean at Skara Cathedral, who was inscribed at Rostock University in 1508. This group consists of two volumes assembled from 5 and 3 printed works respectively, together with manuscripts that are now part of the manuscript collection of the National Library of Sweden, signatures Ms. I.j.1a.1–2. The second volume has the name 'Sweno Jacobi Canonicus Scarensis' carved into the clasps.

TABLE 2.2 (Continued)

Edition	Binding	Provenance
Bonifacius VIII. <i>Liber sextus decretalium</i> , Venice: de Tortis, 1496/1497	Rostock	Mariefred Carthusian monastery, now Oslo University inc. 80
<i>Gebetbüchlein</i> , Lübeck: Arndes, 1497	Rostock	Stockholm KB inc. 435

A group of Swedish bindings have been misidentified as Koberger bindings, for copies of the *Breviarium Upsalense* printed by Johannes and Anna Fabri in Stockholm in 1496 were surely also bound by the Fabris.³⁴ Other bindings produced in Lübeck did, however, contain Koberger editions (Table 2.3).

We know little of the bindings placed on a large number of books that subsequently entered the Scandinavian market, and with so few contemporary bindings identified, we cannot produce a comprehensive account of this aspect of the book trade with Scandinavia before the Reformation. Yet although the lists given here contain information only on already catalogued incunabula, they add significant weight to our insight into the scale and nature of that trade. The identification and publication of book bindings from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remains a desideratum, a challenge awaiting Scandinavian book historians and rare book librarians alike.

Mainz and Strasbourg, the first centres of printing in Germany, played a significant role in the early trade in printed books that reached Scandinavia. Printers and publishers in these cities used whatever channels they thought suitable for the distribution and sale of their books, with both their representatives and their merchandise soon found in Lübeck. By 1466 Corde (Conrad) Hurlemann, merchant and resident of Lübeck, was already selling books printed by Fust and Schöffer in Mainz and in 1467 his stock included works printed in Cologne that had been conveyed to him by merchants Hans Kocke and Rotger Rinck.³⁵ In 1470, Hurlemann together with Ambrosius Segeberge sent two Bibles, fifteen psalters and twenty *Canon Missae* to Riga with the help of Hans Kocke; the books came most probably from Mainz and from Peter

34 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, *passim*.

35 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1568. *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck 1139–1470, Codex diplomaticus Lubecensis: Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch*. Vol. 1:2: 1466–1470 (Lübeck 1905), 484, 512.

TABLE 2.3 *Anonymous Lübeck book bindings.*

Editions	Binding	Provenance
Angelus de Clavasio <i>Summa</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1492	Lübeck	Johannes Erics, dean of Uppsala Cathedral, now Stockholm KB inc. 56
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1477–1479	Lübeck	Laurentius Magni, Stockholm Dominican monastery, now Stockholm KB inc. 75
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1484	Lübeck	Laurentius Magni, Stockholm Dominican monastery, now Stockholm KB inc. 68
Johannes Gobii <i>Scala coeli</i> , Lübeck: Brandis, 1476	Lübeck	Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 609
<i>Missale Slesvicense</i> , Lübeck: Arndes, 1486	Lübeck?	Ulsnaes parish church, now Copenhagen KB inc. 2782
<i>Missale Slesvicense</i> , Lübeck: Arndes, 1486	Lübeck?	Ytthrøn parish church?, now Copenhagen KB inc. 2781
Alvarus Pelagius <i>De planctu ecclesiae</i> , Ulm: Zainer, 1474	Lübeck	Laurentius, Cistercian monastery Cismar, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3074
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon</i> , Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1484	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, no Copenhagen KB inc. 226
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i> , Speyer: Drach, 1487–1488	Lübeck	Mariefred Carthusian monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 132
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica p. 4</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1487	Lübeck	Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 131C
Aristoteles <i>Lapidarius</i> , Merseburg: Brandis, 1473	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 313
Astesanus <i>Summa</i> , Strasbourg: Mentelin, 1473	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 364
Augustinus <i>De conemptu mundi</i> , Cologne: Quentell, 1495	Lübeck	Laurentius Nicolai, Malmö, now Copenhagen KB inc. 4137
Augustinus <i>De trinitate</i> , Basel: Amerbach, 1489	Lübeck	Petrus Reberg, Roskilde, now Copenhagen KB inc. 428

(Continued)

TABLE 2.3 (Continued)

Editions	Binding	Provenance
Augustinus <i>Explanatio psalmodum</i> , Basel: Amerbach, 1489	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 416
Bartolomaeus Montagna <i>Consilia medica</i> , Padova: Canozius	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 2820
Bernardus Claravallensis <i>Flores</i> , Nuremberg: Sensenschmidt, 1470	Lübeck	Cismar cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 611
<i>Biblia latina</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1487	Lübeck	Cismar cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 700
Bonaventura <i>Libri et tractatus</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff, 1486	Lübeck	Kanutus Johannes, Stockholm Franciscan monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 355
Bonifacius VIII. <i>Liber sextus Decretalium</i> , Basel: Froben & Amerbach, 1500	Lübeck	Birger Gunnersen, archbishop of Lund, now Copenhagen KB inc. 836
Cinus de Pistorio <i>Lectura super Confessionale</i> , Strasbourg: Eggstein	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1204
Conradus de Alemania <i>Concordantiae Bibliorum</i> , Strasbourg: Mentelin, 1474	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1260
Dionysius de Burgo <i>Commentarius in Valeriam Maximum</i> , Strasbourg: Rusch	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1410
Duns Scotus <i>Quaestiones</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1481	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1452
<i>Formularium curiae Romanae</i> , Cologne: Koelhoff	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1617
Hieronymus <i>Epistolae</i> , Strasbourg: Mentelin, 1469	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1965
Johannes Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i> , Ulm: Zainer, 1476	Lübeck	Cismar cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 1819
Johannes Nider <i>Praeceptorium legis</i> , Cologne: Renchen, 1485	Lübeck	Mariefred Carthusian monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 1116

(Continued)

TABLE 2.3 (Continued)

Editions	Binding	Provenance
Johannes Nider <i>Sermones</i> , Reutlingen: Greyff, 1480	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 2915
Johannes Versor <i>Quaestiones super metaphysicam Aristotelis</i> , Cologne: Quentell, 1493	Lübeck	Laurentius Nicolai, Malmö, now Copenhagen KB inc. 4296
Junianus Maius <i>De priscorum verborum</i> , Treviso: Bernardus de Colonia, 1477	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 2599
Pelbartus de Themeswar <i>Sermones</i> , Haguenau: Gran for Rynman, 1500	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3076
Petrus Bergomensis <i>Tabula super Thomae Aquinatis</i> , Basel: Richel, 1478	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3153
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia scholastica</i> , Basel: Amerbach, 1486	Lübeck	Ingeborg Åkesdotter Thott, Sweden, then Mariefred Carthusian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3159
Petrus de Monte <i>Repertorium utriusque iuris</i> , Nuremberg: Frisner & Sensenschmidt, 1476	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3181
Petrus Lombardus <i>Perlustratio in libris sententiarum</i> , Nuremberg: Koberger, 1491	Lübeck	Mariefred Carthusian monastery, then Uppsala Cathedral Library, now Uppsala University inc. 359
Plutarchus <i>Vitae virorum illustrium</i> , Strasbourg: Rusch	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3331
Hartmann Schedel <i>Liber chronicarum</i> , Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1497	Lübeck	Johan van Klawen, Strängnäs, now Stockholm KB inc. 965
Soccus <i>Sermones</i> , Deventer: Paffraet, 1480	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3724

(Continued)

TABLE 2.3 (Continued)

Editions	Binding	Provenance
<i>Speygel aller doghede</i> , Lübeck: Ghotan 1485	Lübeck	Anna Bielke, Händelö, now Stockholm KB inc. 990
Thomas Aquinas <i>Summa theologiae</i> , Mainz: Schöffner, 1471	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 3930
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>De liberali ingenuorum</i> , Rostock: Fratres, 1477	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 4153
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum doctrinale</i> , Strasbourg: Rusch	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 4156
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum historiale</i> , Strasbourg: Rusch, 1473	Lübeck	Hans Urne, dean of Odense Cathedral, then Roskilde Cathedral Library, now Copenhagen KB inc. 4161
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum historiale</i> , Strasbourg: Mentelin, 1473	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 4157
<i>Missale Aboense</i> , Lübeck: Ghotan, 1488	Lübeck	Nagu parish church, now Turku/ Åbo Academy Library
<i>Missale Aboense</i> , Lübeck: Ghotan, 1488	Lübeck	Västerås Cathedral Library, now Västerås inc. 84
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Quaestiones evangeliorum</i> , Devnter: Paffraet, 1484	Lübeck	Cismar Cistercian monastery, now Copenhagen KB inc. 4030
Antonius Rampigollis <i>Aurea biblia</i> , Ulm: Zainer, 1475	Lübeck	Vadstena Brigittine monastery, now Uppsala University inc. 1287
Birgitta <i>Sunte Birgitten openbaringe</i> , Lübeck: Ghetelen, 1496	Lübeck	Brynolf Gerlaksson, bishop in Skara, now Stockholm KB inc. 218
<i>Epistelen unde Ewangelien</i> , Lübeck: Ghetelen, 1492	Lübeck	Brynolf Gerlaksson, bishop in Skara, now lost
Johannes de Tambaco <i>Consolatio theologiae</i> , Strasbourg: Reyser(?), 1478	Lübeck	Brynolf Gerlaksson, bishop in Skara, now Kiel University library

Schöffner,³⁶ who seems to have used his citizenship of the city of Frankfurt to facilitate his trade with Lübeck.³⁷ Authorized representatives who did business on his behalf included Henkyss van Gudesbergh, who was active in 1469, and Johann Bysse, active from 1469 to 1477. The best known of his representatives was Gotman von Ravensburg (Gotmannus Rawenszberg), a German cleric who ended his career as dean of Strängnäs Cathedral.³⁸ In 1480, merchants of Lübeck had distrained the books Gotman von Ravensburg was commissioned by Schöffner to trade to Scandinavia, an attempt to bypass Hanseatic merchants.³⁹

In the late 1460s, Bernhard Rusch in Strasbourg was part of a trading organisation that helped to distribute works printed in Strasbourg, not least to northern Europe.⁴⁰ The results of such efforts were impressive: half of the books owned by Lübeck canon Volcmar von Anderten – that is twenty-one of forty-two, according to a donation he made in 1479 – consisted of books that had been printed in Strasbourg.⁴¹ Our only Scandinavian witness to this trade in works printed in Strasbourg in this period is an annotation by an anonymous buyer on a copy of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, printed in 1476 by Georg Husner, who might have been a member of the same Strasbourg-based trade organisation. The annotation reads,

In the year of the Lord 1478 on St. Bartholomew's day, I have acquired this book of passions with the printers' official approval for the sum of 20 Mark Stockholmish and the binding worth 4 Mark.⁴²

According to this note, the unknown buyer had acquired this work on 23 August 1478 from a representative of a society of printers in Strasbourg

36 1470, November 25: 'twe bibulen veffteyn psaltare unde twintich canone gedrucket'; *Urkundenbuch*, 713–714. Bruns and Lohmeier, *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker*, 11–12.

37 Grimm, *Die Buchführer*, 1500–1501.

38 Ibid., 1569; Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*. Vol. 1: *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das siebzehnte Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1886), 759, 762.

39 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1569; Hubertus Menke, "'Na dem Holme i vat mit boken": Zum spätmittelalterlichen Buchvertrieb Lübecks in den Ostseeraum', *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien: 1. Nordisches Symposium Niederdeutsch* (Berlin 1987), 147–157.

40 Grimm, *Die Buchführer*, 1422–1423.

41 Jürgen Busch, 'Die Ratsbibliothek in Hannover: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadtbibliothek vom 15. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter*, n.s. 10 (1957) 169–234.

42 'Anno domini mcdlxxoctsmo jn cstino bartolomej [i.e., 23.8.1478] pabam passionarum ab impressoribus cum praeceptorio et viginti marcis denariorum monete holmensis et ligatura iiij marcis'. This copy belongs to Strängnäs Cathedral Library.

(‘ab impressoribus cum praeceptorio’). The society had facilitated and financed its representative’s business trip. The annotation also indicates that the book market in Stockholm was sufficiently significant to be served by a travelling salesman and not by a Hanseatic merchant.

Johann Koelhoff the Elder, printer and trader in books in Cologne, came originally from Lübeck. He maintained his connections with that city by means of agreements drawn up with the Lübeck-based bookseller (‘Buchführer’) Johann Ewiler in 1486/1491.⁴³ Ewiler is known to have exported books to Denmark and Sweden, and also to other countries and towns around the Baltic. In the mid-1480s, Anton Koberger of Nuremberg, the most important south German printer-publisher at the end of the fifteenth century, established a strong presence in Lübeck. Koberger visited Lübeck once a year, so important was the local and regional market served by this town,⁴⁴ but the daily business of trading in books appears to have been delegated to local representatives. Unlike Lübeck, other north German and Baltic cities appear to have had only limited impact on Scandinavian book culture. Johannes Borchardes (1489–1510) in Hamburg was not a significant printer in terms of volume, but he sold his own books and the books of other printers as far north as Copenhagen.⁴⁵

From the early 1480s, Lübeck dominated the trade in German and Venetian books to Scandinavia.⁴⁶ At that date, the first Lübeck printers appeared on the Scandinavian scene, as both printers and booksellers. Following his itinerant years as printer of books in Denmark, Sweden and Germany, from the 1490s Johann Snell concentrated on the sale of books. Johann Ewiler, who had previously been in Cologne, acted as intermediary and authorized representative for printers in Venice and Cologne. At the Frankfurt Fair of 1483, Ewiler bought Venetian books worth 1400 Florins; in 1486 he put his name to a trade agreement with Johann Koelhoff the Elder in Cologne;⁴⁷ and in 1491, he exported

43 Grimm, *Die Buchführer*, 1515.

44 *Ibid.*, 1544–1545, 1569–1570.

45 Almost none of Borchardes’ books have survived. Grimm, *Die Buchführer*, 1564, 1544 and 1563.

46 Lübeck was also highly involved in trade with the eastern coast of the Baltic. For information on the trade with Reval (Tallinn) see Olev Nagel, ‘Die lateinischsprachigen Bücher in Estland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, in *Mare Balticum – Mare Nostrum: Latin in the Countries of the Baltic Sea (1500–1800)*, ed. Outi Merisalo and Raija Sarasti-Wilenius (Helsinki 1994), 106–109.

47 Ewiler may also have been in charge of the books from Venice and Basel that had been bought by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg and distributed throughout Germany since the mid-1480s; Grimm, ‘*Die Buchführer*’, 1570.

books to Sweden, Denmark and Livonia. He also commissioned the binding of books by Lübeck bookbinders.⁴⁸ Lübeck merchant and book trader Robert Koch von Venrath sold books in Lübeck and the neighbouring regions on behalf of the Cologne printers Johann Helman and Heinrich Quentel. In 1484, he still owed them money, which Hermann Vredelant, who was described as the servant of the two printers, had been authorized to collect.⁴⁹ The same Koch von Venrath reportedly traded in Venetian books two years later.⁵⁰ Gedort Wigerick, merchant and part-time publisher-bookseller in Lübeck, appears in Anton Koberger's final account for Hartmann Schedel's chronicle⁵¹ and may therefore have sold copies on the Scandinavian market. One copy of this edition belonged to Kanutus Palnonis and has been preserved in an early sixteenth-century binding.⁵² Another Danish copy, which once belonged to Hans Jeppson (Jeppesen), is now lost. The book described as *Chronicarum liber* that belonged to the library of the university in Copenhagen may have been a third Danish copy.⁵³ A Swedish copy was donated by Johan van Klawen to the Dominican monastery in Strängnäs not later than 1518 and was bound in Lübeck. We know of at least one cargo of books shipped in 1494 by Hans van Ghetelen, a publisher-bookseller and the figure behind the Mohnkopf printing office, to Stockholm.⁵⁴ An anonymous bookseller from Lübeck is recorded as having been present in Söderköping, the second most important Swedish sea-port, at the time.⁵⁵

Merchants from Lübeck also acted as intermediaries for German printer-publishers or merchants, who in turn could act as intermediaries for other German and Italian printers. Towards the end of the pre-Reformation period, German printer-publishers were no longer able to maintain their exclusive role in the Scandinavian book trade, although the regional significance of printers in Lübeck and Rostock remained unchallenged. From the 1480s and especially in the early years of the sixteenth century, other actors entered the Scandinavian scene, actors who were not dependent on hanseatic trade or the

48 Ibid., 1571–1572.

49 Bruno Kuske, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels und Verkehrs im Mittelalter*. Vol. 2: 1450–1500 (Bonn 1917), 486.

50 Ibid.

51 Peter Zahn, 'Die Endabrechnung über den Druck der Shedelschen Weltchronik (1493) vom 22. Juni 1509: Text und Analyse', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1991) 177–213, here 192–193.

52 Now in the library of Herlufsholm school in Næstved, Denmark.

53 Torben Nielsen, *Vetus Bibliotheca – Københavns Universitetsbibliotek på Reformationstiden. Katalog 1603 med oplysninger og en indledning* (Copenhagen 2004), 531.

54 Grimm, *Die Buchführer*, 1572–1573.

55 Menke, 'Na dem Holme', 150.

merchants of Lübeck. In the last decades of the fifteenth century, Dutch merchants were granted privileges by the Danish king in an attempt to outmanoeuvre the dominant Hanseatic League. This step had an impact on the book trade between the Netherlands and Scandinavia: the model for the 1483 Stockholm edition of the *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus* was a Dutch edition published only one year earlier and illuminated Dutch woodcuts were distributed within Brigittine networks.⁵⁶ Although in the long run Lübeck would lose its dominant position, in the early years Dutch books were sent to Lübeck to be bound before they reached their final destination.

At the time of the Reformation, the infrastructure that supported the book market changed. The arrival of the Reformation in northern Germany was embraced by printers. The earliest Reformation works intended for the Scandinavian market were ordered from and produced in Rostock. But the bulk of the printed material from the 1520s, as the Reformation took root, came from the centres of the urban Reformation in south-west Germany, from Basel and Strasbourg, and later from Wittenberg. During the earliest period of transition, Protestant works were imported by means that were largely informal, private and illegal. Significant witness to the ways in which Lutheran books found access into Catholic Sweden is found in letters written by Hans Brask, bishop of Linköping. Brask was well acquainted with book production in Germany and Sweden and was able to acquire the books he required, as we can read from a letter he wrote to Margareta, the sister of the newly elected Swedish king Gustavus Vasa:

When we last visited Stegeborg for consultations, we spoke of so many German and Swedish books that I don't fully remember which ones you desired, but we send you now by return of post a German passion.⁵⁷

Earlier in the same letter, Brask thanked Margareta for a medical book she had sent him. This medical book may have been a copy of a printed edition of the *Hortus sanitatis*, another copy of which had been sent to the Danish dean and bookseller Christiern Pedersen, whose books were also widespread in Sweden. In a letter dated the following year, Brask informs the newly elected archbishop

56 Thelma Jexlev, 'Danmark 1475–1500', *Danske kalkmalerier: Sengotik 1475–1500* (Copenhagen 1991), 6–11, here 7.

57 'Tha vi vore senest til samtal pa Stegeborg var pa tall om monge böker tydzsche oc swen-sche saa at oss ey fullelica drager til minnes ther om edra begäre doch sende vi eder nu med thetta samme bud eth tyst passional', Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, no. 182, letter dated 9 March 1523.

in Uppsala of a wealth of books and letters he had just received from Lübeck.⁵⁸ That year he also wrote to Petrus Benedicti, who was in Germany on his way to Paris, asking him to talk to printers about the costs of a breviary for Linköping that he was considering commissioning.⁵⁹ A year later, he was in direct contact with a printer in Lübeck called Vitus, although that he now intended to commission the breviary in Lübeck rather than Paris must remain a supposition.⁶⁰ In a letter to his colleague Magnus, the newly elected bishop of Skara, Brask points out the importance of studying Luther's works, pro-Lutheran propagandistic printed works,⁶¹ and anti-Lutheran books. All these categories of printed material seem to have been readily available to him.⁶²

Brask addresses the topic of early Reformation literature in a letter dated 26 March 1524 and addressed to the brothers in the Brigittine monastery of Vadstena, another centre of Swedish book culture. He reminds the brothers of the ban on selling, buying, receiving and reading Lutheran books. The public was informed of this prohibition by means of placards displayed on the walls of the churches of the diocese of Linköping. We have no knowledge (so far) of specific Lutheran or other 'heretical' books that came to Sweden during the first half of the 1520s, but Brask seems to have owned or at least had access to a number of such works, which he industriously quotes in his letters: Luther's own works, books against Luther, a work against the Ruthenian heresy (we know of six editions), and finally the 1521 Roman edition of the English king Henry VIII's defence of the Roman Catholic church, *Assertio septem*, which had been sent to him directly from Rome in 1523.⁶³ Brask was not the only one to make use of private channels for the importation of books into Sweden. In a letter in Swedish dated 6 June 1524, he informed the citizens of the town of Söderköping that they were forbidden to sell, buy or distribute Luther's books. According to Brask, foreign merchants and other individuals had been importing such works into the country and the diocese of Linköping for some years, apparently through the port of Söderköping.⁶⁴ Neither followers of the new teachings, among them prominently positioned clerics, nor defenders of the

58 Ibid., no. 279, dated 30 October 1524.

59 Ibid., no. 256, probably dated 3 September 1524.

60 Ibid., no. 342, dated 25 April 1525.

61 Alexander Heintzel, *Propaganda im Zeitalter der Reformation: persuasive Kommunikation im 16. Jahrhundert* (St Augustin 1998).

62 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, no. 193, dated 28 March 1524, and no. 194, dated 29 March 1524.

63 Ibid., no. 99, dated 20 July 1523.

64 Ibid., no. 228. A German merchant is mentioned by name in a letter dated 28 August 1524; *ibid.*, no. 259.

established Church could draw solely on older works acquired during their own studies in Germany or found in cathedral or monastery libraries as they fought the battles of the early Reformation. Both parties needed fresh ammunition. It is virtually impossible to identify or even estimate the number of privately imported – or, rather, smuggled – books, but clearly normal and informal channels for importation coexisted.

Christiern Pedersen and the Danish Book Trade Around 1520

From the cusp of the Reformation comes potent testimony of the power of the Danish book market and literary culture and of the involvement of European printers in Scandinavia – an inventory of books which, since its publication has been attributed to Malmö, then a Danish town.⁶⁵ The Malmö List contains information on more than three thousand books. The first editors dated the list to 1520, but the collection it describes seems to have been confiscated a few years later, sometime between 1523 and 1525. The inventory states that two barrels of books (VII and XI) belonged to Lund; another barrel was supposed to stay in Malmö (barrel I). Several of the books registered are explicitly designated as being the property of Christiern Pedersen, cathedral dean, book publisher, seller and printer, former Parisian student and university teacher.⁶⁶ Pedersen had been born in Roskilde around 1480. After studies at the university in Greifswald from 1496, he moved in 1505 to Lund as newly appointed dean at the cathedral. In 1508, he left Denmark for Paris, where he continued his studies and established a stable business relationship with Jean Badin, the

65 Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 319–334; Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 220–221. The manuscript belongs to Det Kongelige Bibliotek Denmark, Mogens Gyldenstjernes Arkiv, Indkomne Sager; Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 323. Ellen Jørgensen, 'Les bibliothèques Danoises au Moyen âge', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 2 (1915), 332–351, here 350–351. Today it is much easier to identify the content of the Malmö List than when it was published in 1913, and not only because of the wealth of bibliographical resources available electronically. Placing each entry in the context of the transnational book history and the connections between Christiern Pedersen and Paris has increased our ability to identify the correct editions. Identifications given here can therefore differ considerably and in a variety of ways from older identifications. The Malmö List appears together with my identifications as appendix 1.

66 Jens Anker Jørgensen, *Humanisten Christiern Pedersen – En præsentation* (Copenhagen 2007). Pedersen is mentioned by Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1567 as an itinerant bookseller in the duchy of Holstein before 1510, although unfortunately he does not reveal his sources.

major Parisian printer-publisher of the early sixteenth century. Several Danish books were published in Paris during Pedersen's sojourn, most of them by Badin. Pedersen is the only person noted by name in the Malmö List. At the head of leaf 1 is a later addendum to entry 1 that states that Pedersen had received one of the thirty copies of the *Breviarium Lundense* printed in Paris in 1517. The second reference, entry 115, which notes that Pedersen was then a resident of Malmö, tells of the whereabouts of copies of an otherwise unknown *Diurnale Lundense*:

Also 20 [originally 30] Diurnalia Lundensis diocese bound. *Later addendum*: Master Christiernus, residing in Malmö, received 10 of these Diurnalia.⁶⁷

The Malmö List records 3164 volumes, a collection on a remarkable scale in any European context.⁶⁸ It is most probably not a private library – first, no

67 Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 328.

68 The Malmö List also contains information on book bindings in noteworthy detail and quantity. A few titles are registered with copies both bound and unbound ('1 evangeliaē bonden paa danske oc en ubonden', '2 breviaria Roschildensia bonden oc en ubonden'). Whether a title was bound or not bound was apparently not a question of volume. The following works were recorded in great numbers as bound: '100 oc 2 psalteria bonden i perment', '94 breviaria ligata ad usum Lundensem', 736 copies 'alphabeta in pergameno ligata' and 325 copies of 'abdcaria ligata in pergameno'. The following books had not been bound: two 'auctoritates Aristotelis ubonden' as well as 264 copies 'oraria in Danica lingua', i.e., the *Gudelige Bønner*, printed in 1509 by Gotfred van Ghemen in Copenhagen. Whether a book was bound was not necessarily related to the content, number or origin of the book in question either. Although they travelled long distances, Parisian, Lyonnaise or Nuremberg books were not automatically sent unbound in order to save money and space, nor did every Danish book or title printed in Denmark receive a binding before becoming part of Pedersen's stock. There may be a link between the binding and the type of literature being sold. Liturgical literature such as the *Breviarium Lundense* usually seems to have been sold to churches ready for use, i.e. bound, while a book likely to be owned privately, the *Gudelige Bønner* for example, would have been sold unbound. The different types of book bindings registered in the Malmö List were identified: 'in asscribus' means in boards, but either in boards covered or in boards uncovered, 'in asscribus nudis' means in uncovered boards; 'in papiraceis asscribus bonden' means bound or wrapped in paper; 'in filo' means sewn, either with or without covering; 'in filo tantum' means either sewn but lacking a covering, or stitched, i.e. a pamphlet; 'in cruda materia' means bound in mundane material, whatever this may be, but it may, in some way or another, reflect some aspect of the binding structure too; 'ligatus/bonden' means sewn together but without a cover, or just bound as opposed to not bound; 'in pergameno ligata' means sewn/stitched with a limp parchment cover; 'non ligatus/obonden' means not

individual owner would assemble hundreds of copies of individual titles; second, the list mentions no name other than Pedersen's and his were not more than eleven books. The combination of multiple copies of single titles and a majority of works in one or a few copies only, together with the explicit statement of every copy's state of binding (or not) points rather towards an effort to establish some form of bookshop.⁶⁹ That outlet would have been aimed at a market and a clientele which included priests and preachers (we note the large number of editions of *Sermones* of various authors) and the local and regional schools (the collection included 753 copies of a so far unidentified *Alphabeta*), but also lay readers of devotional texts (the list records 1165 copies of the '*Historia s. Clementis*'). It was not a homogeneous collection and included Danish books printed both in Denmark and abroad. Some of the books listed may not have been recent arrivals in Denmark at all: a number of titles can only be identified with incunabula editions printed in Germany several decades earlier, such as the '*psalterium Cistercensis ordinis*' dated 1486. Such editions would have been either part of Pedersen's own library or had come from an antiquarian stock of books that had once belonged to other Danish book owners.⁷⁰

The Malmö List contains a wide range of titles. Some emanate directly from Pedersen's well-documented work as an editor and author in Paris,⁷¹ such as the *Horæ in Danica lingua* and the *Breviarium Lundense*. Others document the trade in which Pedersen appears to have been involved since returning to Denmark. This group contains printed works that had been commissioned by Pedersen as well as titles that had been produced by other printer-publishers in Paris and sent to Denmark. Pedersen himself might have been the publisher of some of the anonymous titles recorded in the list, including schoolbooks such as the *Abcdaria*⁷² and *Alphabeta*,⁷³ and liturgical books such as the *Diurnale Lundense*⁷⁴ or the *Psalteria*.⁷⁵ I can imagine that Pedersen intended to

bound, i.e. without a cover or boards, or quires sewn or loose. The expression 'bonden i fiell' seems to indicate a book binding made of a rather unsophisticated, more raw piece of skin.

69 In 1543, a comparable stock in terms of number – 2546 books belonging to the Dutch bookseller Cloet – was confiscated in Louvain; Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven 2010), 89.

70 In the 1520s, Ferdinand Colón reportedly acquired incunabula from cities throughout Europe for his private library; *ibid.*, 88.

71 For example, the *Breviarium Lundense* (entries 1, 104, 197, 200, 244, 252, 274).

72 *Ibid.*, entry 199.

73 *Ibid.*, entries 204, 218, 250, 259.

74 *Ibid.*, entries 71, 113, 115.

75 *Ibid.*, entries 114, 184, 203, 225.

establish a bookshop either in Malmö, where the delivery was confiscated and registered, or in Lund, where he was dean. Books from Koberger in Nuremberg, many works printed in Lyons, and finally books with a variety of north European provenances complete the spectrum of printing evident in the Malmö List.

The original editors of the Malmö List located the origins of the works it listed exclusively either in Paris with Badin or in Denmark.⁷⁶ But Pedersen was not simply a passive recipient of books from his former business partner in Paris. Copies of the *Historie s. Clementis* are registered as bound together with copies of the *Breviarium Lundense*⁷⁷ as well as the *Breviarium Roschildense*.⁷⁸ The *Historia s. Clementis* is, though, not an integral part of either of these books and would therefore not have been part of the delivery from the publisher; it would have been added by Pedersen. Also, although the anonymous writer of the Malmö List was meticulous and evidently bibliographically experienced, it is impossible to identify even a majority of the titles as specific Parisian editions. Some listings have no corresponding known edition at all; sometimes the wording of the entry does not replicate the recorded titles of Parisian editions. In many cases, the only possible identification turns our gaze away from Paris. Some titles were products of another of the major contemporary European book-trading companies, that of Koberger, who was based in Nuremberg.⁷⁹ Titles printed for Koberger in both Lyons and Hagenau can readily be identified. But other titles fit with neither Badin nor Koberger. A Dutch book on the Mass corresponds well with Pedersen's engagement with liturgical reform, which was reflected in his own production, most prominently his *At höre messe* (two editions: Paris 1514 and Leipzig 1517). Pedersen's long and well-documented connection with Badin and other Parisian printers is recognised, but the picture sketched by the Malmö List is more complex than has yet been appreciated by Danish book historians.

The list contains 283 entries, representing a total of 204 titles, with the number of books recorded per entry ranging from one to more than 100 (Table 2.4).

The eleven containers held a mixture of literary categories, authors and publishers according to no particular system. Although we cannot reconstruct the process of confiscation and registration, parts of the list can be summarized according to date of printing, number of copies, format or geography: Container

76 Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 319–334. Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 220ff.

77 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, no. 27.

78 Ibid., no. 32.

79 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1544–1545, 1569–1570.

TABLE 2.4 *The Malmö List: content in figures.*

Container	Entries	Number of copies
I (case, 'ista')	75 (1–75)	140 (144) ⁸⁰
II (barrel, 'tunna')	35 (76–110)	57
III (barrel)	11 (111–121)	187
IV (barrel)	43 (122–164)	122 (130) ⁸¹
V (barrel)	27 (165–191)	77 (78) ⁸²
VI (unknown type of container)	12 (192–203)	17
VII (barrel)	3 (204–206)	150
VIII (barrel)	15 (207–221)	1266 (1216) ⁸³
IX (barrel)	23 (222–244) ⁸⁴	440
X (barrel)	35 (245–279) ⁸⁵	518
XI (barrel)	4 (280–283) ⁸⁶	190
Total	283 (204 titles)	3164 (3127) ⁸⁷

I contains as many books from Paris as from Koberger. The majority of titles in containers II–IV seem to have been produced in the second half of the 1510s. Container V has a larger number of printed works that can be dated to Pedersen's sojourn in Paris. The origins of the books in container VI are impossible to categorize. Container VII seems to have contained Danish books only.

80 Several entries originally had a different number of copies: 69: 7 instead of 6; 70: 8 instead of 7; 71: 3 instead of 2; 73: 9 instead of 8.

81 Entry 122 originally consisted of 30 (instead of 20), 133 of 6 (instead of 5) and 140 of 2 (instead of 5) copies.

82 Entry 188 originally consisted of 3 copies instead of 2, but entry 172 would have changed the total number of books more substantially, 'Item una sarcinula diversorum librorum', i.e. an unknown number of books in a bundle.

83 The editors of the Malmö List noted that entry 209, with the number of copies of the *Historia s. Clementis*, could read 764 instead of 814.

84 Entries 228–229 consist of one identified title bound together with an unknown number of small prints, 'cum aliis libellulis...ligatus'.

85 Entries 270–271 consist of one identified title bound together with an unknown number of small prints, 'cum aliis libellulis...ligatus'.

86 Entry 273 is for a small compartment containing various objects, 'scrinum...in quo varia', which may have been books.

87 The slightly lower figure is generated when all crossed out or disputable figures are excluded; these alternative figures were usually set in brackets by the editors of the Malmö List. Throughout this book I work with the larger figure.

Containers VIII and IX contain a majority of books printed exclusively for the Danish market, such as the *Breviarium Lundense*, Saxo Grammaticus and Peder Laale's *Parabolae*, as well as most of the registered copies of the *Historia s. Clementis*. The majority of the works in containers X and XI are Danish as well, printed in Paris, Leipzig or Denmark.

The oldest titles recorded in the Malmö List date from the 1470s to the 1490s, works such as *De valore missarum* (entry 82), which might have been published any time between 1472 and 1502, and the *Psalterium Cisterciense* printed in 1486. The copy of Conradus de Alemania's *Responsorium curiosorum* (233) was definitely printed in 1476 and is the oldest dated edition on the list. A few more items can also be dated precisely on the basis that the wording of the Malmö List has usually proven bibliographically trustworthy: Seuse's *Passione* (22), Augustine's *Expositio Domini in monte* (105), Bonaventura's *Sermones mediocres* (128), Usuardus' *Doctrinale* (138), *Diurnale Cisterciense* (196), Reno's *Dialogus de amore* (235), Plutarch's *Epistola* (239), and Mantuanus' *Logica* (276). All these copies of old editions appear to have derived from Danish private collections, perhaps from Pedersen's own collection or from an antiquarian stock, and are usually listed in a single copy. When more than one copy of an older book appears on the list, the volumes might have had different Danish provenances. Such would have been the case, for example, with the two copies of the *Leges Jutiae* (217), which might have belonged to any of the various works and editions published between 1486 and 1508, or with the three copies of the sermons of Bertrandus (44, 56 and 59), dated more precisely to 1500–1502. The list also includes incunabula editions that appear to have been acquired by Pedersen in Paris as they do not correspond with any book of fifteenth-century Danish provenance so far identified; it seems likely that they came north as part of Pedersen's own collection. One such case is an edition of *Livia Fausti poetae laureati*, a work by the humanist Publius Faustus Andrelinus, dated Paris not before 1495 (entry 249). All in all, twenty-two titles are known to have been printed or might have been printed before 1501.

A number of books are recorded in one copy each and dated before the establishment of relations between the Danish and Parisian book markets: the *Praeceptorium* by Hollen (38) and the *Sermones aurei* by Udino (64), both dated 1503, the second edition of the Dutch *Boexken van der missen* of 1509 (104) and Saxo Grammaticus' *De denscke Kroneke* of 1502 (163). Twenty-nine titles might indeed have been printed between 1501 and 1509, during which period Pedersen is thought to have been active as an itinerant bookseller. The majority of the books date from 1509 and later. Fifty-seven titles might have been printed between 1509 and 1515, although the probable date of printing of some editions may lie a little later, in the period up to the early

1520s. The circumstances of the production of many of these books lead us to Paris and to Pedersen's business partner Jean Badin, but not all works take us there. There are, for example, two Danish titles which were first printed in Paris and then reprinted in Leipzig: Pedersen's own *At høre Messe* (200) and different versions of *Statuta synodalia* (175 and 214) dated 1514 and 1517. Some titles do not appear to have been, or at least cannot be identified as, the work of Badin or any other Parisian printer-publisher, such as the *Hortulus anime* (171), Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* (29) or the sermons of Ferrerius (57). About two thirds of the books identified with editions produced between 1516 and 1520 (64 in all) belong to Paris. Sometimes the bibliographical information available is either too vague or too comprehensive to give a more accurate dating than 'fifteenth century' or 'sixteenth century'. More than thirty titles fall into that category, among others quite ordinary religious books, psalters as well as Donates, schoolbooks, ABCs and alphabets.

For the majority of the books, 150 of a total of 204 titles, only one or two copies are listed, testifying to an exclusive group of educated consumers as the intended audience. The range of titles, authors and editions is wide. A further thirty-two titles appear with between three and nine copies each and indicate titles more commonly distributed and read in Denmark. One tenth of the titles on the list represents very close to 90% of its quantitative content. Here we find the bestselling titles, clearly aimed at a mass market of both educated and lay readers of Danish devotional literature (1165 copies of the *Historia s. Clementis*, 265 *Oraria Danica*, Peder Laale's *Parabola* in 48 copies and several editions of psalters for a total of 176 copies), schoolbooks (752 *Alphabeta*, 44 *Remigius*, 13 *Donatus*, and 25 *Abcdaria*), but also liturgical books (200 copies of the *Breviarium Lundense* and 58 (or 68) copies of the *Diurnale Lundense*). These figures suggest a supply of books that would have met the needs of both local and regional markets. The Malmö List is strong in Danish printed texts, covering a range of content as well as the major works of the period, and contains a stock of official works that includes recently produced liturgical books as well as historical works that were so typical of Danish pre-Reformation book culture (11 copies of Pedersen's Paris edition of Saxo Grammaticus and one copy of the older *Denscke Kroneke*). Peder Laale's and Christiern Pedersen's devotional books are not absent. At least one Danish book is not even known to the Danish national bibliography, the *Diurnale Lundense*. If we assume that some of the entries cover different editions of the same work, then the percentage of Danish works from the national bibliography contained in the Malmö List would rise to about 15%, evidence of Pedersen's strong position within the Danish book market. Foreign authors are usually represented by one or two copies of each work. Among the authors more widely

spread in Scandinavia before the Reformation, we find a number of theological authors: Jean Marre and Petrus Richardus (10 titles in 1 copy each), Bonaventura (5 titles and 9 copies), Nicolaus de Aquaevilla and Armandus de Bellovisu (1 title and 8 copies each), collections of sermons of Odo of Cheriton and Cornelius de Sneki (1 title in 6 copies of each) and Pedro Covarrubias (1 title in 4 copies). Among the anonymously published or registered books we find Jean Badin's own collection *Allegoriarum et moralium sententiarum in utrumque divinae legis instrumentum* of 1520 (10 copies) and the *Serpens antiquus de septem peccatis criminalibus* (7 copies). Unique titles such as the Dutch *Dat boexken vander missen Anderwerf ghecorrigeert*, dated about 1507, and Rolewinck's *De venerabili sacramento et valore missarum* reflect Pedersen's well-documented interest in the reform of the Mass.

Danish book historians have identified the Malmö List as a record of books delivered 'beyond all doubt' from Paris,⁸⁸ but as one identifies specific editions and considers possible provenances, the available bibliographical information soon begins to fill out a rather different picture. We start with books most probably printed in Paris as well as books that according to their content seem to have been printed exclusively for Danish markets, including the *Diurnale Lundense*, a book identified as *Oraria Danica*, and a primer called *Alphabeta* (Table 2.5).

Another group is formed by sixty-four foreign books printed in Paris. In some instances we know of only a single edition of the work, or of only one edition that matches the wording of the entry and was published in Paris. More frequently, however, we know of a small number of Parisian editions and are unable to identify the specific edition included in the list. In other cases, we know that the title was published during Pedersen's sojourn in the city. Especially when the list records only one copy of a work, it seems likely that this unique copy is an edition from Paris. For two entries circumstantial evidence aids us in forming at least an assumption about place of publication. The first is Jacobus de Reno's *Dialogus de amore* (235), one edition of which was apparently printed by Wolfgang Hopyl in Paris after 1 December 1492. The copy recorded in the Malmö List was bound together with 'other small books and bound in vellum' [*aliis libellulis in pergameno ligatus*] (236). The composition of such a multi-text volume is usually the work of the buyer and reader, not the bookseller. Pedersen could certainly have assembled this volume, having acquired Reno's book from Hopyl, with whom he had worked on the printing of two Danish books, the *Liber agendarum ecclesiae Slesvicensis* of 1512 and the *Missale Lundense* of 1514. The second case is also the second

88 Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 220.

TABLE 2.5 *The Malmö List: Danish books (probably) printed in Paris 1509–1520.*

Entry nos.	Copies	Author/title	Date of printing
211/225/257/266	753	<i>Alphabeta</i>	16th c.
1/111/204/207/251/259/281	200	<i>Breviarium Lundense</i>	1517
183/258	4	<i>Breviarium Roschildense</i>	1517
78/120/122	58	<i>Diurnale Lundense</i>	1510–1520?
169/170	11	<i>Diurnale Rhoschildense</i>	1511
213/231/279	48	<i>Laale Parabolae</i>	1506–1515
79/80/166	5	<i>Missale Lundense</i>	1514
205/208/230/248/261/268/283	265	<i>Oraria Danica</i>	1509–1520
200	1	Pedersen <i>At höre Messe</i>	1514–1517
181	2	Pedersen <i>Epistler og Evangelier</i>	1515
108/189/199	10	Pedersen <i>Vor Frue tider</i>	1514
10/227	11	<i>Saxo Danorum regum historia</i>	1514
175/214	38	<i>Statuta synodalia</i>	1514–1517
182	6	Pedersen <i>Vocabularium latino-danicum</i>	1510–1518

volume on the list to be constructed of more than one work (entries 277 and 278): another unspecified ‘dialogus’ and an equally ambiguous ‘aliis libellulis in pergameno ligatus’. The dialogue in question could have been a copy of the 1498 Paris edition of William of Ockham’s popular *Dialogus inter clericum et militem*, acquired on the spot. Pedersen would have been able to obtain such small prints easily and assembled them together in two volumes. Twenty-nine titles are represented in HPB by one individual Parisian edition only. Another eight titles were printed only in Paris, although it is impossible to identify the edition in question. A further twenty-seven titles most probably tell of Parisian editions given their bibliographical circumstances – for example, the year of printing ties in with a Parisian edition.

Quite a substantial number of books covered by the Malmö List, sixty-six in total, may have been published outside Paris. Eighteen of them can be identified with certainty with editions from printing towns other than Paris. Some of these works are particularly curious, such as the second Dutch edition of Gerrit of Gouda's *Dat boexken vander missen Anderwerf ghecorrigeert*, printed in Antwerp by Willem Vorsterman in 1507 (104). This and other non-Parisian books provide examples of works imported to Denmark from other European book centres. Joannes Antonius Campanus' *Epistolae familiares*, printed in Cologne by Cornelius von Zierickzee in 1516 (81 and 155), is the only pre-1520 edition of this title in HPB that closely matches the wording of the entry in the Malmö List. Leipzig, where ten Danish books were published between 1516 and 1524, is represented by among other works, Lucius Annaeus Florus' *Epitoma quattuor* printed in 1518 (99). Pedersen imported six copies of Cornelius de Sneki's sermons printed by Nicolaus Marschalk (or Thurius) in Rostock in 1517 (15, 132, 218 and 246). An edition that can be identified with certainty as an incunable is a later edition of a work by Usuardus Sangermanensis entitled *Doctrinale clericorum una cum sanctorum martyrologio per anni circulum* (138). The 1496 edition of Bonaventura's *Sermones mediocres de tempore* was printed by Georg Husner in Strasbourg (128). The two printed works in the list produced by Peter Drach the younger in Speyer are editions of Cistercian liturgical books, the *Psalterium Cisterciense* of 1486 (195) and the *Diurnale Cisterciense*, printed in 1487–1488 (196); these works have been bound together in one volume, which must have been convenient for their unknown Cistercian user(s). In this category we also find a Venetian print, the *Logica magistri Petri Mantuani* of 1492 (276). A further nineteen titles cannot be identified with bibliographical precision, but we can be sure that none of them are known Parisian editions.

Another twenty-nine titles on the list were almost certainly produced outside Paris. Almost half of these have a link to the Nuremberg-based company founded by Anton Koberger and continued by his successor, Johannes Koberger, until the 1520s. The Kobergers, who ceased printing in the 1480s and concentrated instead on publishing and selling, employed a number of local and foreign printers in Nuremberg, Lyons and Hagenau. A number of these Koberger books appear on the Malmö List. One entry is indisputably for an edition produced exclusively for Johannes Koberger: the 1518 edition of Irenicus' *Germaniae exegesios*, which according to the colophon was printed by Thomas Anselm for Johannes Koberger (12). A number of printers in Lyons worked for the Kobergers thanks to Johannes Koberger, who had been in charge of the French branch of the company from the early years of its

establishment.⁸⁹ The Lyons branch was of singular importance not only for trade with France and southern Europe, but also as an inexpensive and reliable supplier of books for other parts of Europe. On the Malmö List we find, for example, Jean Ganivet's *Epistola astrologiae defensiva*, attributed to Johannes Cleyne in Lyons in 1508 (102). This group also contains a few works that appeared in Nuremberg, such as *Das Leben unsers Erledigers Jesu Christi (...), auch mit Beylauffung des lebens der Junckfrawen Marie*, printed in 1514 by Johannes Stüchs (86), and *Divae Catharine virginis...vita descriptio* by Peter Chalys, printed in 1515 (101). The Kobergers also distributed books produced in Augsburg by Grimm and Wirsung, as we know from other sources.⁹⁰ One of these works could have been Thomas à Kempis' *Meditationes de vita et beneficiis Salvatoris Jesu Christi* (139). HPB records one pre-Reformation edition only, published by Grimm and Wirsung in 1520.

As we have seen, a distinctive part of the books on the Malmö List belongs to a stock of varied provenance, part Danish, part Parisian, part leading back to Christiern Pedersen himself. Another, smaller selection consists of books that had followed other trading routes, among which are works produced by Johannes Rynman, who like the Kobergers employed printers from Hagenau. The Malmö List records a total of four copies of Bernardinus de Bustis' *Rosarium sermonum predicabilium*. The four editions of this work recorded by HPB as having appeared between 1500 and 1518 were printed by Henricus Gran in Hagenau for Johannes Rynman.⁹¹ The *Sermones de septem viciis criminalibus* by Paul Wann (28) was most probably a copy from the edition published in 1517 by Gran for Rynman. From the north German Baltic city of Rostock comes another title that seems to have reached Malmö independently of Koberger and Badin: according to the wording of the list, which is usually quite accurate, entries 15, 132, 218 and 246 describe copies not of Badin's 1514 edition of the *Sermones Magistri Cornelii de Snekiis*, but of the edition printed in 1517 by Nicolaus Marschalk (Thurius) in Rostock. Also included in the list are German reprints of some of Pedersen's own first Parisian editions. During 1517 and 1518, Melchior Lotter in Leipzig published new editions of four of Pedersen's Danish works: the book on the Mass, *At høre Messe*; his Danish version of the Book of Hours, *Vor Frue Tider*; the *Epistler og Evangelier*, a collection of biblical extracts; and his Latin-Danish dictionary,

89 Grimm, 'Die Buchführer', 1196, 1201.

90 Ibid., 1216.

91 Cleyne in Lyons printed a further three editions, one of which might have been imported by Koberger and registered in the Malmö List.

Vocabularium Latino-Danicum, which was the second reprint after the 1514 Cologne edition.

Re-examination of the Malmö List highlighting the contributions of a number of European printer-publishers to this enormous stock of books leads us to a revised understanding of the role of Christiern Pedersen. Pedersen has long been considered the passive consignee of a huge delivery of books originating from a single producer. In place of that characterization, a new picture of Pedersen has emerged from this analysis, as a book professional who actively built up an enormous stock, profiting from his relations with French, south and north German, and Danish printer-publishers. That stock is not a private book collection but rather the core of a large book-selling enterprise.

The majority of the works that appear on the Malmö List, almost two thirds of the total 204 titles, are religious in nature. In keeping with the picture for Europe more generally, the majority of these titles represent devotional works. A few editions may belong to an older Danish stock of books, but works printed in Paris dominate, starting with Reno's *Dialogus de amore* (235), which can be dated precisely, to 1492. The majority of the books were printed in the sixteenth century, and works printed in Paris are dominant amongst the publications from the 1510s, covering Christiern Pedersen's time in Paris and his continued friendship with Jean Badin at the end of that decade. Comparatively few titles were, or might have been, printed in Germany or elsewhere, including the apparently sole text in German, a double biography of Jesus and Mary (86). The second-largest grouping within this category of religious texts can be termed catechetical literature, with collections of sermons in the majority. A few titles may have been attractive to members of religious orders who were interested in reform, such as St Boniface's *De coena purificati ordinis Minorum* (273),⁹² and a book that could be related in some way to Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* and is termed by the writer of the Malmö List 'Gloria monachi' (243). The numbers of Parisian and Koberger editions in this group seem very similar.

A number of titles can be placed under the general heading 'theology'. Such works include an annotated Parisian edition of the epistles of St Paul (34), works of the church fathers and medieval theological teachers such as Augustine (105 and 185), the Venerable Bede (70), Stephanus Fliscus (110) and Robert Holkot (8). Another large group of titles is concerned with the church and takes the form of either ecclesiastical or liturgical literature. Ecclesiastical literature includes titles that deal with ways of hearing, understanding and

92 To date I have found no documentary evidence of a printed edition of this text, but the circumstances of the list allow us to assume that such an edition existed.

participating in the Mass: Rolewinck's *De valore missarum* (82), the Dutch *Boexken van der missen* (104) and Pedersen's own *At höre Messe* (200), which reflects, as we have noted, Pedersen's interest in reform of the Mass. The following titles are concerned with clergy and church, issues that were prominent on reforming agendas: Cassiodorus, *De regimine Ecclesie* (275), Plagius, *De planctu ecclesiae* (62), Lochmaier's *Parrochiale* (100 and 264), the *Stella clericorum* (83), as well as Nicolaus de Clemangiis, *De corrupto ecclesiae* (106). Printed liturgical works include not just a large stock of well-known Danish liturgical books – *Diurnale Rhoschildense* (11 copies; 169–170), *Missale Lundense* (5 copies; 79–80, 166), *Breviarium Lundense* (200 copies; 1, 111, 204, 207, 251, 259 and 281), and the *Breviarium Roschildense* (4 copies; 183 and 258) – but also that previously unknown Danish print *Diurnale Lundense*, in 58 copies that were perhaps part of a larger edition (78, 120 and 122). Monastic concerns are also evident within this category, which contains copies of Peter Drach's editions of the *Psalterium Cisterciense* and the *Diurnale Cisterciense*, dated to the late 1480s and bound together in one volume (195–196), and a *Breviarium Praemonstratense* (180). The remainder of this category consists of liturgical books, including 154 copies of an anonymous psalter (121, 210 and 232) and copies of another small-format or abbreviated psalter termed 'psalterium parvum' (85 and 191), and four copies of a large-format Bible (3 and 164).

About one third of all the titles on the Malmö List can be classified as secular literature. In chapter 1 we noted the high number of historical works printed in Denmark and indicative of a consistent and marked interest in history throughout this period. The largest group of secular printed works in the Malmö List is indeed formed by historical works, with a particular concentration on classical authors: Procopius (270), Justinus (16 and 142), Flavius (54), Eusebius (252), Orosius (250), Irenicus (12), Florus (99), Suetonius (190) and Tacitus (178). Among modern historians we find Monmouth's history of Britain (42), the *Mer des histoires* in French (60) and other histories of France and the Franks (55, 66 and 193). Several titles deal with Saxo Grammaticus' history of the Danes (10, 163 and 227), and the histories of the Goths and ancient Germanic tribes (12, 18, 23 and 152). Other titles deal with general history (5, 7 and 151). During his years in Paris, Pedersen would have become acquainted with humanist literature, although only a few such authors can be found in the Malmö List: Petrus Mantuanus (192 and 276), Publius Faustus Andrelinus (249), Francisco Barbaro (240), Jean Despautère (93 and 177), Joannes Antonius Campanus (81 and 155) and a few others. A newsworthy political poem by Valerandus Varianus addresses the siege of Genoa in 1507 (91). The small collection of law books contains single copies of books on canon and civil law and on Danish law (217), as well as five copies each of Bartholomaeus Anglicus'

Proprietatibus rerum (24, 160 and 256) and the anonymously published *Rubricae totius juris canonici et civilis* (272). There are eight titles of classical literature, including three works by Plutarch (89, 239 and 263), the letters of Pliny (238) and Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (216). The group of schoolbooks contains the usual primers for a Latin school, thirteen copies of the *Donatus* (76 and 255) and forty-four copies of the *Remigius* (123), but only one copy each of Alexander de Villa Dei's *Medulla aurea* (98) and *Textu Alexandri* (244). The remainder of the schoolbooks is made up of three titles that may all have been Latin-Danish dictionaries, although the wording of the Malmö List does not allow us to make that identification with certainty. The first of these titles is a 'vocabularia ad usum Dacorum' (6 copies; 182), which might indeed have been Pedersen's own *Vocabularium Latino-Danicum*, with three editions between 1510 and 1518. Both the 'abcdaria' (25 copies; 206) and the 'alphabeta' (753 copies; 211, 225, 257 and 266) may have been further copies of Pedersen's aforementioned *Vocabularium*. The group of books on natural science covers medicine, with three copies of Floridus Macer's *De virtutibus herbarum* (172–173), as well as Jean Ganivet's *Epistola astrologiae* (102). The smallest groupings of secular literature contain a few or isolated works in the categories of philosophy (29, 118, 134 and 274), politics (91 and 220) and popular literature (48).

Danish pre-Reformation book production has a not-unexpected weight of religious literature but is also strong in secular historical and legal works in Danish. A comparison of the Danish national bibliography with the Malmö List highlights this national idiosyncrasy. The quantity of secular literature imported to Malmö, although proportionally smaller than that found in Danish book production, is impressive, with a strong emphasis on historical literature. Historical works form the third-largest category within the list, exceeded only by devotional and liturgical works. The even larger number of devotional books confirms the extensive demand for such material in Denmark, fed by works in Danish and Latin. Liturgical literature was printed both in Denmark and abroad, apparently in consideration of control of the production process, price, quality and decoration, rather than of the domestic producers. Certain categories of literature were procured solely from printer-publishers outside Denmark, especially catechetical and theological works. Personal connections and experience with centres of theological teaching and the authority of certain continental European universities, authors and editors won out over domestic production. Theological works fit this model most clearly, with Paris, its university and printers, apparently of utmost importance. A preference for Parisian works is less prominent when it comes to catechetical literature, where just as many titles can be identified with German editions as with

Parisian editions. The other literary categories that lack Danish books are works by classical authors and philosophy. The content of the Malmö List reveals the endurance of medieval religious-theological traditions, but the strong presence of classical and humanist authors also suggests the future that lay ahead for Danish literary culture. Yet the Malmö List is also characterized by a complete lack of literature directly associated with the Reformation, which was about to change the course of Danish book history. The classical and humanistic texts that were printed in Denmark, Terentius' *Adelphorum comoedia* and Erasmus' *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, both printed in 1522 by Balthasar Blumme in Copenhagen, postdated the availability of such texts in editions printed abroad, as demonstrated by the Malmö List. The new domestic publication of titles available via importation suggests a substantial growth of the market (Table 2.6).

Danish publications dominate two categories of printed works – politics and schoolbooks. The titles of the schoolbooks registered give no indication as to where, when and by whom they had been printed. The market for schoolbooks was decidedly much more local than that for most other literary categories. Pedersen's own *Vocabularium Latino-Danicum* was a bestseller printed twice in Paris while Pedersen was resident there, but with the exception of Pedersen's dictionary and some other printed works that came mainly from Paris and Leipzig, primers were usually printed in Denmark itself. Books used in the advanced teaching of Latin were usually printed abroad, however. The bibliographical evidence therefore leads us to conclude that at least two of the unidentified schoolbooks on the list, the *Abcdaria* and *Alphabeta*, had probably been printed in Denmark. While the *Vocabularia* mentioned (182) may have been the remainder of an older edition of the *Vocabularium Latino-Danicum*, the *Alphabeta* could have been a new edition printed on the Danish press established by Pedersen with the help of equipment acquired in Paris in 1515.⁹³ Danish production dominates when it comes to literature in Danish or geared primarily to Danish audiences, as can be seen in the political, popular, liturgical and educational categories. The strong interest in history identified earlier in this study is reinforced by a large number of books covering ancient as well as modern history. The religious literature in the Malmö List can be interpreted as evidence of the Danish readership's sense of belonging to the one Western Christian church and as a sign of Pedersen's confidence in the Danish market's capacity to digest all these titles.

93 Anker Jörgensen, *Humanisten Christiern Pedersen*, 13, 47.

TABLE 2.6 *The Malmö List and Danish book production before 1525 in comparison.*

Content	Malmö List		Books printed in Denmark		Danish books printed abroad	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	129	64.5	70	53	31	57
Bible	1	0.5	4	3	2	4
Catechetical	34	17	—	—	—	—
Devotional	44	22	21	16	9	16
Ecclesiastical	17	8.5	13	10	2	4
Liturgical	16	8	32	24	18	33
Theology	17	8.5	—	—	—	—
<i>Secular literature:</i>	71	35.5	62	47	24	44
Classical	8	4	—	—	—	—
History	25	12.5	6	5	1	2
Humanistic	9	4.5	2	2	—	—
Law	9	4.5	7	5	1	2
Natural sciences	6	3	2	2	—	—
Philosophy	4	2	—	—	—	—
Politics	2	1	18	14	13	24
Popular	1	0.5	5	4	—	—
Schoolbooks	7	3.5	22	17	9	13
Total	200	100	132	100	55	101

The stock assembled here by Christiern Pedersen not only confirms the importance of his decade-long personal relationship with Jean Badin and other Parisian printer-publishers, but also demonstrates his abilities in choosing books from an array of sources, both domestic and foreign, old and new. While as we have seen, several literary categories present in the Malmö List were not also covered by Danish book production, all categories of Danish book production were covered by the Malmö List. Judging from the breadth and range of the titles assembled, we can conclude that Pedersen acted as an independent bookseller within both local and regional markets. His stock was geared to appeal to a range of consumers. That spectrum included institutional commissioners of liturgical books and educated clerics with theological and legal interests. A majority of titles would have surely appealed to a limited

circle of connoisseurs of classical and humanistic writings, but other works, even if in smaller numbers, were clearly aimed at a mass market composed in part of schools in need of educational material and in part of a literate public eager for devotional literature. The Malmö List shows the complexity of Pedersen's professional role, for it combines all in one business Danish antiquarian books, his own editions and books he acquired in Paris, commissions by Danish institutions and imported books from French and German publishers and booksellers. It also indicates the complexity of Danish pre-Reformation book culture, which served itself from this array of material. Foreign sources provided Danish readers with literature that was not available from domestic printers, reinforcing lively literary interests in areas such as history and humanistic literature. Danish producers were often geographically more distant than their European counterparts from the wells from which certain texts sprung, particularly in the case of catechetical, devotional and general theological literature.

The comparison of the Malmö List and Danish book production throws light on the complex relationship between domestic and foreign production. Danish book history written from the standpoint of a national bibliography fails to recognise the interplay between dynamic factors within Danish book culture, as well-informed Danish customers within a growing domestic market sought quality and variety, and northern European booksellers with access to texts and authors proved keen and able to serve Scandinavian book markets. The Danish book market was not simply about printing from the periphery.

Prices and Scale of the Pre-Reformation Book Trade

If there is no critical mass of written material in a country, region, or community, we cannot speak of a literary or book culture. Individual books and their acquisition, ownership and reading do not alone make up a culture. One goal of this book is therefore to provide a qualitative analysis of pre-Reformation Scandinavian book culture based on accumulated statistical evidence. Quantitative aspects of the book trade include the volume of that trade and the price of its commodity. Yet our ability to go further than the existing histories of the book in Scandinavia before the Reformation is limited by several factors. Only a very small fraction of all the books imported into Scandinavia have survived the losses of the centuries. This correlation between produced and preserved books, disappointing as it is for the book historian, is not surprising. The figures established for Scandinavia do not differ essentially from

the figures calculated by Neddermeyer.⁹⁴ The qualities of a book – its content and target audience, for example – significantly influenced its chances of survival. Schoolbooks and pamphlets, broadsheets and letters of indulgence have disappeared almost entirely, whereas Bibles and books in large formats have survived in much greater numbers. Neddermeyer estimated that 12% of the works of the church fathers printed in the fifteenth century have survived, and 6% of all Bibles, but he set the survival rate for printed books across all categories at about 3%.⁹⁵

To what extent are Neddermeyer's results also representative of a limited region such as Scandinavia? As far as Bibles are concerned, his calculations are highly accurate. Five hundred copies of the first Icelandic bible were printed 1584, and Ragnar Lárusson gave account of thirty preserved copies in 1995, that is, precisely 6%.⁹⁶ In 1492, the Brigittine monastery of Vadstena commissioned 800 copies on paper and sixteen copies on vellum of St Birgitta's *Revelationes*. Of the copies on vellum, at least five have survived (31%) and from the far larger number of copies on paper, more than forty have survived (5%), which gives an overall survival rate of about 6%.⁹⁷ In the middle of the 1480s, Bishop Kort Rogge commissioned an edition of 170 copies of a missal for the diocese of Strängnäs,⁹⁸ of which only two copies have survived more or less complete in Swedish collections, with six more in fragmentary form. The survival rate for this Swedish Catholic liturgical work is slightly more than 1%. Of the 20,000 copies of letters of indulgence imported to Stockholm in 1489 by Antonius Masth, only two are known to have survived,⁹⁹ a survival rate of 0.01%.

If survival rates can be so small, is it still possible to estimate the volume of the book trade with Scandinavia in the pre-Reformation period? The main

94 Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift*, vol. 1: 368ff; vol. 2: 837ff. Neddermeyer describes and records prices in Gulden, 'fl.', but without discussing the differences between regional currencies or the value of currencies at different times during the earliest decades of printing.

95 Neddermeyer's figures and hypotheses have been criticized but not refuted. His investigation makes an import contribution to setting the date for the media revolution of the early modern period; cf. the introduction to Johannes Burckhardt and Christine Werkstetter, eds., 'Kommunikation und Medien in der frühen Neuzeit', *Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft* n.s. 41 (2005).

96 Ragnar F. Lárusson, 'De tre bibler fra Hólar, Island', in *På sporet af gamle bibler: en nordisk antologi*, ed. Peter Raes (Copenhagen 1995) 46–58, here 50.

97 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 127–128; GW 04391.

98 *Missale Strengnense*, Stockholm: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1487. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 71.

99 Raymundus Peraudi, *Indulgentia*, Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes, 1489; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 106.

problem facing an alternative method is a simple lack of archival evidence. Only a few documents cast light on the scale of that trade at specific times.¹⁰⁰ The main source, known to historians of the book in northern Europe for more than a century, was generated by the military activities of Lübeck, the major Hanseatic city on the western coast of the Baltic, in the 1490s. In order to finance the equipping and maintenance of a warship, Lübeck raised a toll, by the pound, on all goods leaving its harbour. This toll was recorded in the so-called *Pfundzollbücher* and spans the years 1492 to 1496.¹⁰¹ The toll is calculated in *Pfennig*, as one hundredth of each *Mark Lübisches* of the value of the cargo. Based on that toll, the value of each cargo can be easily recognised from the records – a toll of 9 *Pfennig*, for example, gives the value of the cargo in question as 9 *Mark Lübisches*.¹⁰² The *Pfundzollbücher* include details about the containers used for transporting certain goods, with barrels (*fat*), boxes (*kista*) or drums (*tunna*) filled with books leaving Lübeck, but they do not indicate the number of books in each container. *Fat* and *tunna* apparently both designated a round barrel. In and of itself, this source records the volume of trade in books from Lübeck to Denmark and Sweden during four consecutive years in the mid-1490s. For book historians of Scandinavia and north Germany, these figures and dates have provided rather minor evidence of this book trade. When combined with other sources, previously unknown or little known, however, this evidence enables us to adopt a rather wider perspective on the volume of this trade. Table 2.7 lists the Scandinavian destinations of ships that according to the *Pfundzollbücher* left Lübeck harbour with a cargo of books (column 1), information on the departure date (2), the merchant and, sometimes, the skipper (3), the cargo (4) and its value (5–6). The cargo is given in barrels, drums or boxes, as listed in the source, and not in number of books. The value of the cargo, which we can assume was listed in the *Pfundzollbücher* in *Mark Lübisches*, the local currency, is given also in *Mark Holmisches*, the currency in use in the Swedish capital at the time.

The number of books in each cargo was of no concern to the Lübeck authorities because the toll was calculated on the basis of the value of the cargo calculated by its weight. The value named in the record can be set against prices for individual books in the same period, however, to allow the number of books in each cargo to be estimated. To do so, we have to look at Scandinavian

100 The sources examined for this project are almost entirely related to Swedish book history. Additional material still hidden in north European archives will open up a further field for research.

101 Hans-Jürgen Vogtherr, *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492–1496*. 6 vols. (Cologne 1996).

102 *Ibid.*, vol. 1:17, 26.

TABLE 2.7 *Cargos of books shipped to Scandinavia 1492–1495.*

Destination	Departure date	Merchant (skipper)	Cargo of books	Value of books in Mark Lübisich	Value in Mark Holmisch
Germany (Wismar, Rostock) and Denmark (Copenhagen)	7 July 1492	Hinrik Vrossel	2 barrels	36	57
Sweden (Stockholm)	1 September 1492	Hans van Erford	1/2 drum	[not recorded]	–
Sweden (Stockholm)	28 October 1492	Johannes de Abteker (skipper Peter Ruter)	1 barrel	[not recorded]	–
Sweden (Stockholm)	16 May 1493	Kilianus (skipper Gert Bur)	1 box and 12 barrels	[free of duty because the cargo belonged to the bishop of Uppsala] ¹⁰³	–

(Continued)

103 'hort dem bischop van Upsal'. Collijn (*Sveriges bibliografi*, 192) suggests that this cargo sent to Stockholm on behalf of the archbishop of Uppsala might have been a Graduale printed in Lübeck, the so-called *Graduale Suecicum*, Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes or an anonymous printer, 1493. He does not appear to have recognised that the archbishop could have acquired and imported books to be incorporated into the cathedral library or university library at Uppsala. Another alternative ignored by Collijn is that the archbishop lent his name and authority for the importation of several hundreds of copies of the *Revelationes* of St Birgitta printed the previous year in Lübeck. Ghotan's edition was finished before 25 November 1492, according to a note in the Vadstena diary (Uppsala University Library, Ms. C89 fol. 173r); the diary does not record that the two monks brought any books back with them to Sweden. The books may have been sent six months earlier, in May 1493, when the shipping route to Stockholm was again safe from autumn storms and free of winter ice. Tony Schmid (*Graduale Arosiense impressum* [Lund 1959–1965]) identifies the *Graduale Suecicum* as a *Graduale Arosiense*, which would

TABLE 2.7 (Continued)

Destination	Departure date	Merchant (skipper)	Cargo of books	Value of books in Mark Lübisich	Value in Mark Holmisch
Sweden (Stockholm)	13 July 1493	[Johannes] de Abteker (skipper Hans Kil)	1 barrel	[not recorded]	–
Sweden (Stockholm)	18 May 1494	Johannes Smit ¹⁰⁴ (skipper Oleff Taveste [Olaf Tawast])	2 barrels and 1 drum	96	153
Sweden (Kalmar, Söderköping, Nyköping)	29 June 1494	Hans Henke (skipper Gert Bur)	1 barrel and 1/2 drum	48	76
Sweden (Stockholm)	2 July 1494	Hans van Ghetelen ¹⁰⁵ (skipper Gert Bur)	1 barrel	30	48
Denmark	15 March 1495	Hans Borchert	1 barrel	100	160
Total			24 containers of all kinds	> 310 Mark Lübisich	> 494 Mark Holmisch

make it less likely that the archbishop would have imported this work on behalf of the diocese of Västerås.

104 Johannes Smit is most probably identical with the printer Johannes Fabri or Smed active in Stockholm during the years 1495–1496 (see chapter 1).

105 Hans van Ghetelen is the only name mentioned by Grimm (*Die Buchführer*, 1572–1573). According to Grimm, the value of van Ghetelen's cargo was 450 Mark Lübisich (approx. 720 Mark Holmisch).

pre-Reformation book prices. The available sources provide forty-four statements of prices, although their use of local or regional currencies makes a comparison with the *Pfundzollbücher* more challenging. Information about the relative values of the Danish (Mark Danish) and Swedish currencies (Mark Holmisch) and the currencies in use in Hanseatic trade and the harbour of Lübeck (Mark or Schilling Lübisich, Gulden Rheinisch) is very scarce (Table 2.8).¹⁰⁶

Table 2.9, which covers forty-three books, contains chronologically arranged information I have been able to assemble on the prices of books sold and acquired in Scandinavia between the 1470s and the end of the pre-Reformation period. Most of the information comes from Swedish books or, in cases where the books themselves have not survived, from Swedish archival sources. For Danish books we have only the cost of three books produced by Stephanus Arndes in Lübeck for his Danish partner Laurens Leve from Slesvig. The columns contain (1) the price of the books (converted where necessary) in Mark

TABLE 2.8 *The relations between north European currencies before the Reformation.*

	Mark Danish	Mark Holmisch	Öre Swedish	Mark Lübisich	Schilling Lübisich	fl. Gulden Rheinisch
1 Mark Danish				0,62		
1 Mark Holmisch			8,00	0,63	10,00	
1 Öre Swedish		0,13				
1 Mark Lübisich	1,61	1,60				0,50
1 Schilling Lübisich		0,10				
1 fl Gulden Rheinisch				2,00		

¹⁰⁶ The following figures have been checked against information on currency assembled by the Historisches Seminar of the University of Kiel, Germany (<http://www.histosem.uni-kiel.de/lehrstuehle/land/waehrung/Kurse.html>) and by the Marteau Platform of Research in Economic history ([http://www.pierre-marteau.com/wiki/index.php?title=Schilling_\(L%C3%BCbisich\)&printable=yes](http://www.pierre-marteau.com/wiki/index.php?title=Schilling_(L%C3%BCbisich)&printable=yes))).

TABLE 2.9 *Scandinavian pre-Reformation book prices.*

Mark Holm.	Date of acquisition	Author/title	Colophon	Fol.	Price per 500 leaves
5	1470	Unidentified book ¹⁰⁷	Unknown	—	—
17	1471	Psalter ¹⁰⁸	Unknown	—	—
15	1476	Herpf <i>Speculum aureum</i>	Mainz: Schöffner, 1474	408	18,38
5	1476	Unidentified book ¹⁰⁹	Unknown	—	—
20	1478	Voragine <i>Legenda aurea</i>	Strasbourg: Husner, 1476	422	23,70
6	1478	Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Cologne: Solidi, 1474	414	7,25
30	1480	liturgical manual ¹¹⁰	Unknown	—	—
8	1486	<i>Missale Slesvicense</i> [on paper] ¹¹¹	Slesvig/Lübeck: Arndes, 1486	266	15,04
22	1486	<i>Missale Slesvicense</i> [on vellum] ¹¹²	Slesvig/Lübeck: Arndes, 1486	266	42,11
2	1487	<i>Missale Strengnense</i> (?) ¹¹³	Stockholm: Ghotan, 1487	277	3,61
2	1487	<i>Psalterium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm: Ghotan, 1487	110	6,82
2	1487	<i>Psalterium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm: Ghotan, 1487	110	6,82
3	1489	<i>Breviarium Slesvicense</i> ¹¹⁴	Lübeck: Arndes, 1489	439	3,64
3	1490	liturgical manual ¹¹⁵	Unknown	—	—

(Continued)

107 Lars O. Lagerqvist and Ernst Nathorst-Böös, *Vad kostade det? Priser och löner från medeltid till våra dagar*, 5th ed. (Uppsala 2002), 50.

108 Jonas L:son Samzelius, 'Kumla kyrkas räkenskapsbok 1421–1590', *Närke* 4 (1946), 40.

109 Ibid., 33.

110 Ibid., 51.

111 Bruns, *Lebensnachrichten*, 253.

112 Ibid.

113 Samzelius, *Kumla*, 57.

114 Bruns, *Lebensnachrichten*, 253.

115 Samzelius, *Kumla*, 61.

TABLE 2.9 (Continued)

Mark Holm.	Date of acquisition	Author/title	Colophon	Fol.	Price per 500 leaves
2	1490	<i>Psalterium Upsalense</i> (?) ¹¹⁶	Stockholm: Ghotan, 1487	110	9,09
1	1491	Liturgical manual ¹¹⁷	Unknown	—	—
1	1494	<i>Plenarium</i> [Low German] ¹¹⁸	Lübeck: Arndes, 1493	246	2,64
4	1494	Unidentified book ¹¹⁹	Unknown	—	—
2	1495	<i>Psalterium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm: Ghotan, 1487	110	6,82
4	1496	Bonaventura <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	Zwolle: Pieter van Os, 1479	344	5,81
3	1497	Angelus de Clavasio <i>Summa conscientiae</i>	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1492	312	4,01
10	1500	Aquinas <i>De veritate catholicae fidei</i>	Strasbourg: Reyser(?), 1476.	248	20,16
36	15th c.	Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	Strasbourg: Rusch, not after 1473	400	45,00
2	15th c.	Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli de tempore</i>	Cologne: Zell, 1474	524	1,53
5	15th c.	Conradus de Alemania <i>Responsorium philosophica</i>	Lübeck: Brandis, 1476	134	17,91
4	15th c.	Aquinas <i>Summa theologica</i>	Venice: Jenson, 1477	310	6,45
2	15th c.	Aquinas <i>Commentum in Aristotelis</i>	Venice: Jenson, 1480	144	6,94
3	15th c.	<i>Breviarium Othoniense</i>	Odense: Snell, 1482	508	2,95

(Continued)

¹¹⁶ Lagerqvist and Nathorst-Böös, *Vad kostade det?*, 52.¹¹⁷ Samzelius, *Kumla*, 62.¹¹⁸ Bruns, *Lebensnachrichten*, 253.¹¹⁹ Samzelius, *Kumla*, 67.

TABLE 2.9 (Continued)

Mark Holm.	Date of acquisition	Author/title	Colophon	Fol.	Price per 500 leaves
39	15th c.	<i>Ars dicendi sive perorandi</i>	Cologne: Koelhoff, 1484	274	71,17
3	1501	Unidentified book ¹²⁰	Unknown	—	—
64	1503	Unidentified Graduale	Unknown	—	—
30	1505	<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck: Ghotan, 1488	267	56,18
2	1507	<i>Nider Praeceptorium decalogi</i>	Cologne: Renchen, 1485	196	5,10
3	1507	<i>Aquinas De veritate catholicae fidei</i>	Venice: Jenson, 1480	194	7,73
5	1508	<i>Paratus Sermones de tempore</i>	Lübeck: Brandis, s.a.	270	9,26
6	1513	<i>Missale Upsalense</i> [on paper] ¹²¹	Basel: Wolff von Pforzheim, 1513	241	12,45
16	1513	<i>Missale Upsalense</i> [on vellum] ¹²²	Basel: Wolff von Pforzheim, 1513	241	33,20
8	1513	<i>Missale Upsalense</i> ¹²³	Basel: Wolff von Pforzheim, 1513	241	16,60
10	1519	<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen: Poul Raeff, 1519	304	16,45
6–7	1524	<i>Missale Upsalense</i> ¹²⁴	Basel: Wolff von Pforzheim, 1513	241	12,45– 14,52
2	1529	<i>Psalterium Upsalense</i>	Uppsala: Grijs, 1510.	120	8,33
4	16th c.	Hugo de Sancto Caro <i>Postilla super evangelia</i>	Basel: Richel, 1482	491	4,07
62	16th c.	<i>Speculum Speygel aller doghede</i>	Lübeck: Ghotan, 1485	296	104,73

(Continued)

¹²⁰ Ibid., 74.¹²¹ Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 233.¹²² Ibid.¹²³ Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, 222.¹²⁴ Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, 237.

Holmisch, (2) date of acquisition or, if missing, the date of printing, (3) author and title, (4) information on place, printer and date of printing, (5) the number of leaves (if known), and (6) the price per 500 leaves in Gulden (fl).¹²⁵ I have excluded the prices of bindings where distinguishable from the price of the bound book.¹²⁶

Some of the prices indicated surely also cover the cost of the binding, although the inclusion of the binding is not specified. And some prices appear to indicate an ideal value and not the actual price of the book, as was the case with the two books that according to the sources were the most expensive. One of these pricey works is a copy of the Low German *Speculum* that is said to have cost more than 62 Mark Holmisch, 'lxiij marcis ij öre', as indicated by the annotation on the first page recto. The book is a small quarto of 296 pages printed on paper and bound in a contemporary blind-tooled leather binding attributed to Lübeck. It has been illustrated with a small number of woodcuts, some of which have been re-used several times across different chapters of the book. There are no rubrications or illuminations. This work is by no means the magnificent book that its price might suggest. The other expensive work is a new gradual worth 64 Marks and bequeathed by the Danish deacon Hans Urne in 1503 to the church of Our Lady, most likely in Odense. That these prices are exceptional is evident from Figures 1 and 2.

Taking the entries in the Pfundzollbücher as the point of comparison, the price of the *Speculum* or the gradual would alone be anything from the equivalent of 30–40% of the value of a single barrow of books (shipped to Denmark in March 1495) to greater than the total value of a single cargo (shipped to Stockholm in July 1494). In other words, if the barrel of books that left Lübeck for Denmark in 1495 and was valued at 100 Mark Lübisches had contained books similar in price to the *Speculum*, the whole cargo would have consisted of less than three books. Not only would three books not have filled a barrel, but the price recorded for this quarto book is also far higher than the prices of all the folio books registered. As this evidence suggests, the values given for the *Speculum* and the gradual are not trade prices. They must rather be understood

125 This last figure enables comparison with the prices recorded in Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift*, 2:837ff.

126 In 1478 the owner of a copy of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, printed in Strasbourg by Georg Husner in 1476, spent 4 Mark Holmisch on the binding; both binding and book seem to have been acquired in Stockholm. The binding of one volume of Antoninus Florentinus' *Summa theologica* printed in Speyer by Peter Drach in 1487 and acquired ca. 1500 by the Carthusian monastery at Mariefred, Sweden, was about 25% cheaper.

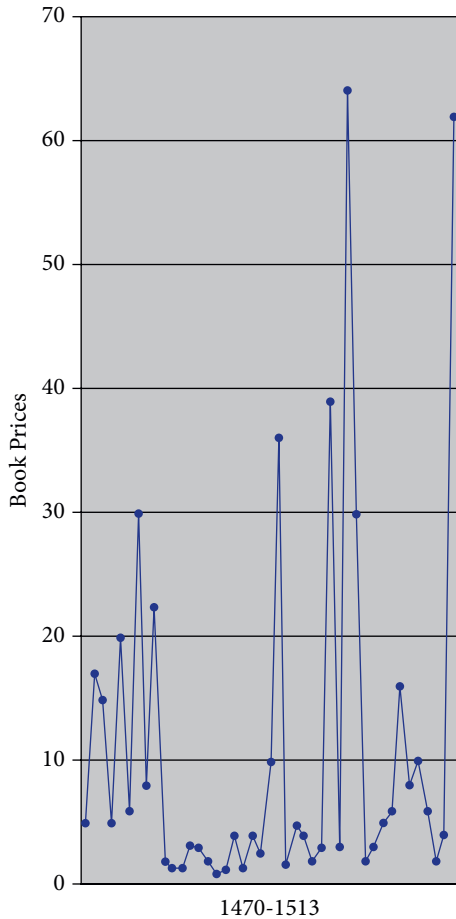


FIGURE 1 Price per book, 1470–1513.

as a kind of non-material value. The wording of the inscription on the *Speculum* indicates that the book was given away after the original owner's death: 'This book belongs to my dearest wife Anne (Bielke) of Händelö May God Almighty give her eternal rest Amen'.¹²⁷

The *Speculum* was a donation to an unknown monastery or church. The price written on the title page may be associated with this bequest and indicative of the value of the Masses that were to be said for the soul of the deceased, Anne Bielke. A similar situation may pertain in the case of the gradual. Hans Urne

¹²⁷ 'dänne bok hörer min allerkäresthe aath frv anne til händelö gvdh alsmegtigh have hänne i den evege hville amen'. This copy is now in the National Library of Sweden, inc. 990; Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no 3640.

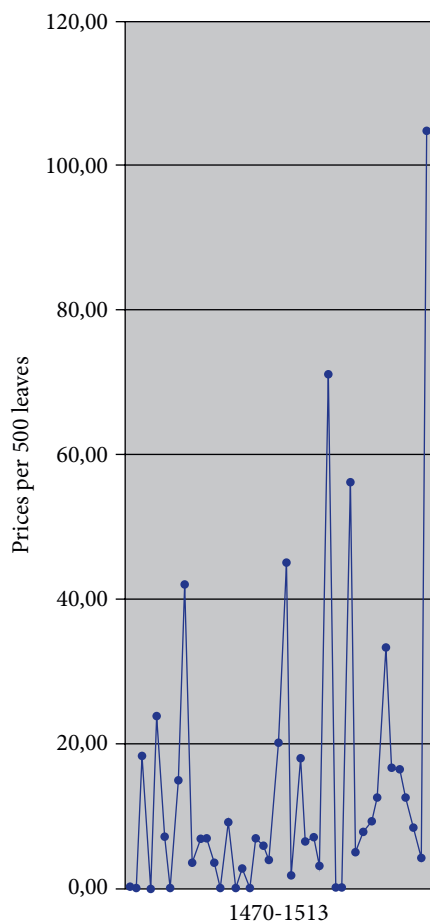


FIGURE 2 Price per 500 leaves, 1470–1513.

bequeathed what is described as a new gradual to Our Lady's church, most likely in Odense. The text of Urne's will states, 'worth 64 Marks' [*saa god som IIII. og LX. Mark*]. That figure does not reflect the price of the book on the open market but rather indicates a value determined by its function as a testamentary gift to a church, again according to the circumstances most probably related to Masses to be said for the then deceased Hans Urne. If an annotation of a price in an early book cannot with certainty be connected to its acquisition, we must be cautious as we interpret that price. Books could have a value that was not necessarily financial but rather cultural and emotional.¹²⁸

128 In a conversation in 2010, Paul Needham of the Scheide Library at Princeton University suggested that the new Graduale mentioned by Hans Urne could have been a copy of a

Eleven of the forty-three prices – less than one third – fall at the higher end of the range, between 10 and 64 Mark Holmisch. The highest prices were connected with books printed in the 1470s and 1480s, to the extent that their printing dates can be determined. During that same period, books were also available on the market at much lower prices. The majority of the prices fall within a much smaller segment of the price spectrum. The average price of the remaining twenty-seven books is about 3.5 Mark Holmisch per book (that is, about 2.2 Mark Lübisch). Can possible correlations between price, language, content or format help us interpret these figures? The only identifiable book that was not printed in Latin, at the same time the only devotional book recorded with a price, is the aforementioned Low German *Speculum*, whose price, as discussed above, is not indicative of its market value. A few books were potentially educational – Conradus de Alemania's *Responsorium*, printed in Lübeck in 1476, Thomas Aquinas' Aristotle commentary in Jenson's Venice edition of 1480, and the anonymous *Ars dicendi sive perorandi* printed in Cologne in 1484. The first two were priced at 2 Mark Holmisch each and are among the cheapest books recorded, even though the *Responsorium* had only to cross the Baltic to reach its Scandinavian destination, while the commentary by Aquinas had to cross much of the European continent. The high price of the *Ars dicendi* – 39 Mark Holmisch, almost twenty times the price of each of the other two educational works – is exceptionally high, but also hard to explain, not least because we lack information on the work's provenance. The remainder of the books are either liturgical (including the large group of books whose price was subsidized by the church), ecclesiastical (including collections of sermons for the use of preachers) or generally religious. Their prices vary, but their format does not: while two books are in quarto and a number of books are registered without an indication of format, the remainder of the works are folio editions.

The prices per 500 leaves are revealing. In most cases, there is a close relationship between the price of a book on the market and the number of leaves in that book. The most expensive books also have the highest price per 500 leaves, at 20 Mark Holmisch or more, but not all the books in the high price sector follow this pattern. The unusually high price for the quarto *Speculum* cannot be explained by its number of leaves. The cost of the *Missale Aboense*,

newly published edition of the Graduale. Needham argued that on account of its sheer size, one edition stands out among the pre-1503 editions available to Urne: the *Graduale Romanum* printed in 1499–1500; this work, he proposed, might have realized such a high price on the market. This hypothesis has as yet not been tested by comparison with the price of another copy of this edition.

produced three years later by the same printer, was only half that of the *Speculum* of 1485. Books produced on the Baltic coast were not necessarily per se highly priced products. The Brandis family in Lübeck and Bartholomaeus Ghotan in Stockholm also produced quite inexpensive books, either small, cheap popular prints (Donates, collections of fables or hagiographic literature) or liturgical books, which would surely have been heavily subsidized. As we saw in the previous chapter, that production was not large enough, however, to keep these printing houses afloat. Among the most expensive works printed outside Scandinavia that appear on the list are books produced in the earliest centres of printing, Mainz, Strasbourg and Cologne. Printer/publishers from these German towns were among the first to export books to foreign markets, in the period before 1480. They did not match the prices of Nicolas Jenson in Venice, who from the late 1470s produced much cheaper, high-quality books that were largely exported. Jenson produced three titles on the list, all works by Thomas Aquinas, at prices of 2 to 4 Mark Holmisch per book, 6.45 to 7.73 Mark Holmisch per 500 leaves. An early Dutch printer of cheap non-academic and popular prints was Pieter van Os in Zwolle. His edition of sermons attributed to Bonaventura cost only 4 Mark Holmisch in the 1490s (5.81 Mark Holmisch per 500 leaves). Unfortunately, acquisition date and price have been preserved only in one case, for a copy of Georg Husner's 1476 Strasbourg edition of the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, which, according to a handwritten note inside the book, was acquired by an unknown buyer on 23 August 1478 from the representative of a society of printers from Strasbourg.

The distance between printer-publisher and market was apparently not decisive for the pricing of a book. The places and printers recorded for these forty-three books are both Scandinavian (Odense, Stockholm and Uppsala) and continental European printing towns (Lübeck, Basel, Cologne, Mainz, Nuremberg, Venice and Zwolle). Amongst the more highly priced books, besides two that are anonymously recorded, are one work from Cologne and Mainz each, two from Lübeck, and books from Strasbourg. Most of the subsidized liturgical books printed for Swedish or Danish dioceses are amongst the lower priced books. The only exception is the second edition of the *Missale Upsalense*, which was printed at the late date of 1513 and therefore felt the impact of inflation and raised costs in general. Amongst these lower priced books we also find works produced by the principal book-exporting companies in Europe at that time, Jenson in Venice, Koberger in Nuremberg, Drach in Speyer, and printers in Basel and Zwolle. Scandinavian printers must have found it hard to compete with the low prices of export-orientated European printers.

The average price of less expensive books remained stable throughout the period in question. Between ca. 1020 and 1520, the inflation rate in Sweden was

approximately 2000%. The rate of inflation for the period between ca. 1450 and 1500 has been calculated at about 50%, but is thought to have increased to 80% between 1500 and 1528.¹²⁹ Therefore, while the nominal prices of books seemed to have remained relatively stable in Sweden between the 1470s and the 1520s, the real price would have dropped significantly within eighty years. Books would therefore have become much more affordable for larger groups of potential readers in Scandinavia within a relatively short time.¹³⁰ The prices for Scandinavian liturgical handbooks were subsidized and quite stable, but they show a drop in real prices similar to that of foreign books. The cost of a *Psalterium Upsalense* printed on behalf of the archbishop of Uppsala in 1487 does not appear to have fallen over the subsequent decade. One copy was bought by Halla parish church after 1487, another by an anonymous buyer in 1490, and a third was bought in Stockholm in 1495; all three buyers paid 12 Öre. When inflation is taken into account, the third buyer paid less than the earlier buyers. At the end of the pre-Reformation period, when the German market seemed to have stagnated, the price of books produced exclusively for the Swedish market seems to have reflected the actual inflation.¹³¹ The new edition of the *Missale Upsalense* printed in Basel in 1513 was the subject of a negotiation between the printer Jacob Wolff von Pforzheim and the archbishop. According to the preserved contract, copies on paper were to be sold by Wolff von Pforzheim in Sweden for 6 Marks, four times the price of the *Psalterium Upsalense* of 1487 and three times the price of the second edition of this psalter, printed in Uppsala by Paul Grijs. The price of the new edition was not absolute, however. The year the new edition appeared, a copy was sold to Hjälnsta parish church for 8 Marks. More than ten years later, Strängnäs bishop Hans Brask recorded in a letter that the price was between 6 and 7 Mark for a copy on paper:

129 Lagerqvist and Nathorst-Böös, *Vad kostade det?*, 9, 19.

130 Leonhard Hoffmann, 'Büchermarkt und Bücherpreise im Frühdruckzeitalter', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (2000), 73–81. Ursula Rautenberg, 'Von Mainz in die Welt: Buchdruck und Buchhandel in der Inkunabelzeit', *Gutenberg aventur und kunst – Vom Geheimunternehmen zur ersten Medienrevolution* (Mainz 2000), 236–247. We do not have sufficient information to draw conclusions about Danish book prices, but we can assume that in general Scandinavian prices moved in line with book prices in Europe. A first drop in price occurred around 1480, and was followed some two decades later by a marked trend for a smaller number of publishing houses to produce larger print runs primarily for export; Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift*, 1:368–377.

131 Reinhard Wittmann, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels: ein Überblick* (Wiesbaden 1991), 44–45.

Those from Uppsala had their missals printed in Basel, and the merchant whom they engaged got at most 6 or 7 Mark Örtug for a paper copy bound and well prepared when delivered to Stockholm, and 17 Mark Örtug for a missal printed on vellum.¹³²

The price of 6 Mark for a copy printed on paper included its binding. The cost of a binding could be 20% of the price of the unbound book: the binding of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, printed in Strasbourg about 1476 and sold for 20 Marks in Stockholm in August 1478, cost 4 Marks. If the price of a bound copy on paper of the *Missale Upsalense* was set at 6 Marks, the binding itself might have cost around 1.5 Marks, with the price of the unbound book therefore approximately 4.5 Mark Holmisch. With few sources from which to draw, all these conclusions are largely speculative, but certainly, a drop in the real price of books over the whole period appears confirmed rather than refuted.

Before attempting to reconstruct the volume of the Scandinavian book trade at the end of the fifteenth century, we must seek to establish how many books, on average, could have been contained in a barrel, drum or box.¹³³ When the library of Henrik Matsson Huggut, secretary of the Swedish king Johan III, was confiscated in 1601 together with the rest of his property, the authorities registered 272 printed books in 309 volumes in three boxes; each box therefore contained an average of 103 volumes.¹³⁴ Even more valuable information can be derived from the Malmö List, which contains 283 records, distributed over one box and 10 barrels or drums, for a total of 3164 books in all formats:

- one box (*cista*): 140 copies
- barrel 1: 57 copies
- barrel 2: 187 copies
- barrel 3: 122 copies

¹³² 'Vpsalienses lothe tryckia sina [missales] in Basilea oc trom, at köpmannen, som thet solliciterade, fik vj eller vij mark ört. thet höxta för pappers missale bundet, tenakulereth oc vel tilreth tha the kommo till Stocholm oc xviiij marc. ört. för permantz missale'. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 237.

¹³³ As far as I know, book historians have not addressed this topic. There are few illustrations of book barrels among which the most instructive are contained in *Hausbuch* of the Landauer Zwölfbrüderstiftung, dated 1543, published in Rautenberg, *Buchhändlerische Organisationsformen*, 372, and Christoff Weigel, *Abbildung der gemeinnützlichen Haupt-Stände* (Regensburg 1698), 240–241.

¹³⁴ Terhi Kiiskinen, *The Library of the Finnish Noblman, Royal Secretary and Trustee Henrik Matsson (ca. 1540–1617)* (Saarijärvi 2004).

- barrel 4: 77 copies
- barrel 5: 17 copies
- barrel 6: 150 copies
- barrel 7: 1266 copies
- barrel 8: 440 copies
- barrel 9: 518 copies
- barrel 10: 190 copies

The low figure for the number of books in barrel 5 could suggest that it contained large format books only, but it is also possible that this barrel was smaller than the others. Barrel 7 contains, among other works, at least 763 and not more than 814 copies of a '*Historie s. Clementis*', that is, the [*Historia divi Clementis De sancto Clemente ad vespas antiphona*], a small item published as supplement to the *Breviarium Lundense* edited in 1517 by Christiern Pedersen in Paris and printed by Jean Philippe, and 336 copies of a similarly small-format ABC-book.¹³⁵ Taken as a whole, the Malmö List suggests an average number of 288 books per container, or an average of 140 books per box and 302 per barrel. Other sources add to our understanding of the number of books specific forms of container might contain. In 1500, the bookseller Friedrich Meyneberg from Thuringia in eastern Germany sent a barrel full of books with a shipper from Speyer. Included in this barrel were ninety-seven copies of a '*Canones Missae Gabrihelis*'; the remaining content is unknown.¹³⁶ The contents of one barrel registered in the Fyn inventory, which is dated to ca. 1530–1532 (see below chapter 3, pp. 141–144) and lists part of the household of the bishop of Odense in Denmark, included at least fifty books. The 1597 inventory of the personal effects of Elisabeth Vasa, a daughter of King Gustav I of Sweden, records a total number of seventy-three books that were kept in one cupboard and bookcase combined, along with other quantitatively unspecified personal belongings.¹³⁷

If reckoned according to the average price of books calculated above, the two barrels of books recorded in the *Pfundzollbücher* as worth 36 Mark Holmisch would have contained about forty-eight books, a much lower figure

135 The identity of this ABC-book is uncertain, but it may have been Christiern Pedersen's own *Vocabularium Latino-Danicum*, Paris 1510.

136 Walter Karl Zülch and Gustav Mori, *Frankfurter Urkundenbuch zur Frühgeschichte des Buchdrucks* (Frankfurt am Main 1920), 51; the authors suggest that they were copies belonging to the edition of the *Epitoma expositiones sacri canonis missae* printed by Conrad Hist in Speyer about 1500.

137 Eleven books in folio, 12 in quarto and 50 in octavo; Otfried Czaika, 'Elisabet Vasa: En kvinna på 1500-talet och hennes böcker', *Biblis* (2009).

TABLE 2.10 *Number of books per transportation unit.*

Date	Inventory	Number of copies per box/bookcase	Number of copies per barrel
1500	Friedrich Meyneberg	—	> 97
1520	Malmö List	140	302
1530–1532	Fyn inventory	—	> 50
1597	Elisabeth Vasa	80	—
1601	Henrik Matsson Huggut	103	—
Average		100	150

than the average contained in Table 2.10. Taking into account all sources that throw light on the average price of books and/or the average number of volumes carried in one container, Table 2.11 outlines the volume of book exports from Lübeck in the years 1492–1495.

A calculation based on the estimated average price of the books involved would suggest that only about 155 books were exported from Lübeck to Denmark and Sweden between 1492 and 1495. If, however, the calculation is based on the number of books that appear to have been held by contemporary book containers, then that number would rise to 3130. I am more inclined to assume that five years of book export via Lübeck brought several thousand rather than just slightly more than 150 books to Scandinavia. The very existence of a collection of thousands of books in Malmö that included antiquarian stock, Danish printed works and a large number of books imported above all from Paris and Nuremberg is striking witness to the probable scale of the Danish market in the decades before the Reformation. The sources record a substantial official book market that was attractive and profitable for continental European printer-publishers and served a significant number of individual and institutional customers: in other words, this market, driven by economic impulses, both served and was served by a lively Danish book culture. The fact that Danish books, especially those published by Pedersen and printed in Paris, were spread throughout Sweden too, indicates that the Danish book market in part supplemented Swedish markets oriented towards central and north German printer-publishers. Information hitherto hidden inside books, inventories and other archival sources is indispensable as a corrective to the *Pfundzollbücher*. Our new knowledge of book prices shows us that

TABLE 2.11 *Number of books shipped from Lübeck 1492–1495 estimated by price and volume.*

Destination	Date	Value	Average number of books according to price	Cargo of books	Average number of books according to content of barrels
Germany (Wismar, Rostock) and Denmark (Copenhagen)	7 July 1492	36 Mark	18	2 barrels	350
Sweden (Stockholm)	1 September 1492	[not recorded]	–	1/2 drum	90
Sweden (Stockholm)	28 October 1492	[not recorded]	–	1 barrel	175
Sweden (Stockholm)	16 May 1493	[free of duty]	–	1 box and 12 barrels	1200
Sweden (Stockholm)	13 July 1493	[not recorded]	–	1 barrel	175
Sweden (Stockholm)	18 May 1494	96 Mark	48	2 barrels and 1 drum	525
Sweden (Kalmar, Söderköping, Nyköping)	29 June 1494	48 Mark	24	1 barrel and 1/2 drum	265
Sweden (Stockholm)	2 July 1494	30 Mark	15	1 barrel	175
Denmark	15 March 1495	100 Mark	50	1 barrel	175
Total			155		3130

books became cheaper and cheaper throughout the pre-Reformation period. The book trade surely expanded as prices fell, bolstering in turn the liveliness of existing Scandinavian book cultures und markets.

Book Collections and Collectors

Churches and Monasteries

The previous chapters have explored the strengths and weaknesses of domestic Scandinavian printing and provided us with a sense of the characteristics and scale of Scandinavian book trade in the decades before the Reformation. This chapter and the two that follow change our approach, as we look now at the role of the customer. A period of economic and political stability at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth century provided a favourable context for the development of the trade in printed books.¹ Institutions, clerics and laity, including high-ranking noble women and wealthy citizens, were financially able to acquire books. These chapters do not provide just another history of Scandinavian libraries, collections and collectors but seek to place books and their provenances in a wider context that considers the book trade, acquisition and collecting. Each chapter focuses on a large grouping of book collectors: chapter 3 on churches and monasteries, chapter 4 on universities and schools, and chapter 5 on private owners.

Scandinavian churches and monasteries were required to own a number of specific works. In addition, monasteries made available to their members literature that could be used for their studying and preaching. Yet from many such institutions, monasteries and churches alike, not one single printed book is known to have survived. Time and again evidence reveals the former existence of Scandinavian book collections that have been destroyed but not their content. In many cases such documentary evidence is all that is left to tell of their existence.² These chapters identify, list and analyse books owned by institutions and individuals in Scandinavia before the Reformation. As sources I have used listings and inventories as well as information from individual books, drawing on book lists and library catalogues from Denmark – including the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein (today largely part of Germany) – Sweden,

- 1 Michael North, *Geldumlauf und Wirtschaftskonjunktur im südlichen Ostseeraum an der Wende zur Neuzeit (1440–1570): Untersuchungen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte am Beispiel des Grossen Lübecker Münzschatzes, der norddeutschen Münzfunde und der schriftlichen Überlieferung* (Kiel 1990).
- 2 A manuscript written in 1517 in the Dominican convent in Strängnäs on behalf of the Dominican monastery in Västerås is the only witness for both institutions; Isak Collijn, 'Smärre bidrag till de svenska klosterbibliotekens historia', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 4 (1917), 66–72, here 71–72.

Norway and Finland. The book lists, organised chronologically and alphabetically, have been analysed statistically, with attention paid also to their origins and context. The availability of sources means that these chapters deal mostly with institutions and individuals in Denmark and Sweden. In identifying titles contained in contemporary book lists, inventories and catalogues, I have relied on major bibliographical databases such as HPB, GW, ISTC and VD16.³

Churches and Monasteries

Monasteries and churches were the foremost book-owning institutions in the pre-Reformation period.⁴ Christian belief and practice depended on books, be they Bibles, liturgical works, devotional texts, or study aids. Growing demand for correct texts was the driving force behind developments in the production of manuscripts and printed books alike. We know that churches were required to own specific works, but we do not know in every case whether their copies were handwritten or printed. Liturgical books were needed for singing the Mass and for the prayers spoken or read in the course of the day. Certain titles were associated with certain monastic orders and we can assume they were acquired by virtually every monastery belonging to that order: for example, the missals containing the specific liturgical traditions of the Cistercian or Franciscan orders. Such works were usually printed elsewhere in continental Europe and then transported to the monasteries and other religious houses of Scandinavia. That trajectory was on occasion reversed. The authorised edition of the revelations of St Birgitta was commissioned in 1491 by the mother house in Vadstena, Sweden, from a printer in Lübeck, and the copies were then dispersed among Brigittine houses from England to Finland, from Germany to Rome. A similar progress can be identified for a text that was at the heart of the late-fifteenth century rosary movement: Alanus de Rupe's psalter of the Virgin Mary was printed in Gripsholm, Sweden, in 1498 and distributed by the

3 Richard Sharpe has provided me with valuable insight into the difficulties of identifying medieval texts, and early prints, when they are listed in contemporary sources in a way different from standard book descriptions; see Richard Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts – An Evidence-Based Approach* (Turnhout 2003). Sharpe's 'List of Identifications' for authors and titles, based upon the contents of medieval library catalogues, can be found at <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/list.pdf>.

4 Instructive maps of the Scandinavian bishoprics that also show monasteries and convents are contained in Birgit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800–1500* (Minneapolis 1993), 109, 113–114, 127.

Carthusians of the monastery at Mariefred over a major part of central and western Europe.⁵

Denmark

Book ownership is one element of Denmark's impressive cultural and intellectual tradition.⁶ Cathedrals, monasteries and other institutions with bookish associations existed in significant number in Denmark in the pre-Reformation period: there were 114 houses of religious orders – 2 monasteries of the Antonites, 9 Augustinian monasteries,⁷ 25 Benedictine

⁵ See below chapter 6.

⁶ Matthias Asche and Anton Schindling, eds., *Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Nordische Königreiche und Konfession 1500–1660* (Münster 2003); Jörgensen, *Les bibliothèques Danoises*. The most southerly parts of modern Sweden – with the seat of the archbishop at Lund, which was then the religious capital of Denmark, and the prosperous harbour city of Malmö – belonged to Denmark until the seventeenth century. Also parts of medieval Denmark were the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, now in southern Germany. Just as printing in Slesvig is an integral part of Danish book history, so too are the monasteries of Holstein, above all those at Cismar and Bordesholm. Additional medieval book collections could be included in a future investigation; see Tore H. Vigerust, *Klostre i Schleswig-Holstein i middelalderen: Bibliografi* (Kiel 1992–1994). As far as possible, I have stayed within the political borders of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that are supported by Danish historiography.

⁷ I have chosen not to include in this study the library of the Augustinian monastery in Bordesholm, southwest of Kiel, in the duchy of Holstein, not least because it is already one of the best known and most fully described book collections of the period. The remains of that library are divided between Kiel University Library and the Royal Library in Copenhagen. In the sixteenth century, after the closure of the monastery in 1550, the library became part of the noble school in Bordesholm, attended by the highest ranks of the Danish and north German nobility. In 1665, 320 volumes were handed over to the newly founded university in nearby Kiel, while another part was taken over by the dukes of Holstein and moved to Gottorf castle. The library of Gottorf castle had been founded in 1606 and was dissolved in 1749, when it was incorporated into the Royal Library in Copenhagen. After the sale of duplicates and other losses, all that remains in Kiel today are 170 volumes containing 189 works, plus another printed title that has been bound together with a manuscript volume. In total, the Bordesholm collection contains 164 incunabula, 25 prints of the sixteenth century and 1 undated print. See Emil Steffenhagen, *Die Klosterbibliothek zu Bordesholm und die Gottorfer Bibliothek: Drei bibliographische Untersuchungen* (Kiel 1884); Harry Schmidt, 'Das älteste Verzeichnis der Gottorfer Bibliothek aus dem Jahr 1590', *Nordisk tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 46 (1959), 139–156; Richard Dölling and Else Maria Wischermann, 'Universitätsbibliothek Kiel', in *Handbuch der historischen gedruckten Buchbestände in Deutschland*, ed. Bernhard Fabian,

monasteries, 1 Brigittine monastery, 16 Cistercian monasteries,⁸ 15 Dominican monasteries, 28 Franciscan monasteries, one convent of the 'Helligaandsorden' or 'Helgeandsorden', 9 houses belonging to Knights of St John, 7 Carmelite monasteries, and 4 Norbertine monasteries. Each of the eight Danish dioceses had a cathedral church and chapter and many clergy.⁹

The remains of Danish cathedral libraries are few. In 1654, hundreds of books brought together from several libraries with medieval roots were sold in Aarhus.¹⁰ Among these works were an unknown number of pre-Reformation books, some of which came from Aarhus cathedral but have not been identified in modern collections. A number of works that were previously in the possession of Danish monastic institutions have survived. Seven titles from the Helligaandskloster, the hospital of the Order of the Holy Ghost in Aalborg, for example, have been preserved in the collections of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, including Aristotle's *Copulata logicae* and *Copulata veteris artis*.¹¹ The monastery owned a copy of the Bible edited by Froben and Petri in Basel in 1498, the *Speculum aureum* by Henricus Herp and no fewer than three editions of Johannes Versor's *Quaestiones super Aristoteles*, all printed in Cologne, but in 1488, 1493 and 1494. The books by Versor and Herp had additional local provenances. The Danish example immediately brings to light the huge challenge of reconstructing and analysing pre-Reformation book culture when only a few books have survived. We do not know how many books there once were, and we must be very wary of drawing conclusions about the character of whole collections from the few surviving editions. As a hospital run by laymen, the Helligaandskloster may well have had a particular interest in Aristotle's scientific writings. But while it surely had no need for a large theological library, we might expect its collection would have included some devotional and liturgical books.

<http://www.vifabbi.de/fabian?Universitaetsbibliothek> (Kiel), chapters 3.3 (catalogues) and 5 (literature); Jakob Grønbaek and Birgit Stauning, 'Köbenhavn [Kopenhagen]: Königliche Bibliothek', in *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, Vol. 7:1 (Hildesheim 1998), 43–68.

8 Brian Patrick McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark: Their Attitudes, Roles, and Functions in Medieval Society* (Kalamazoo 1982).

9 Ingvar Andersson and John Granlund, eds., *Kulturhistorisk lexikon för nordisk medeltid från vikingatid till reformationstid*, 22 vols. (Malmö 1956–1978). It seems, though, that Odense had no chapter house at this time.

10 Hans Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen – en præst og hans bøger: En bog- og bibliotekshistorisk undersøgelse* (Roskilde 1995), 37.

11 J. Lindbaek and G. Stemmann, *De Danske Helligaandsklostre* (Copenhagen 1906).

Traces of a number of monastic book collections can be detected in the Royal Library in Copenhagen,¹² but only, unfortunately, in the form of a few works, or even single copies. A copy of Baptista de Salis, *Summa casuum conscientiae*, comes from the Cistercian monastery in Esrom. Three titles have been identified as coming from the Helligaandsklostret in Randers: Gregorius I, *Homiliae super Ezechielem*, Basel 1496, and two texts in one volume, *Copulata veteris artis Aristotelis* and *Copulata novae logicae Aristotelis*. A number of post-1525 printed works in Danish have been preserved from unidentified Carmelite monasteries.¹³ The only pre-Reformation title with definite Carmelite provenance is Trithemius' *De laudibus ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum* printed in Mainz in 1494, which once belonged to Saeby monastery but is now lost. Two books can be traced to Dominican monasteries: a copy of the *Rudimentum novitiorum*, printed in Lübeck in 1475, that belonged to the monastery in Gaunø and later to that in Naestved, and a volume containing Gregorius I's *Homiliae super Evangelis*, Cologne 1475, and Origenes' *Homiliae*, also Cologne 1475, that belonged to the convent in Helsingborg. Augustinian friars are represented by two titles donated to their monastery in Aebelholt by Peder Reberg, cantor of the cathedral in Roskilde: Augustine's *De trinitate*, Basel 1489, and Alphonsus de Spina's *Fortalitium fidei*, Nuremberg 1494. From the Benedictine order, we have what must be the remnants of the novices' library at Naestved monastery, also called 'Skovkloster':¹⁴ *Remigius seu Dominus que pars*, Slesvig 1486, *Donatus*, Copenhagen 1493, *Fundamentum in grammatica*, Copenhagen 1493, and *Regulae grammaticales antiquorum*, Copenhagen.¹⁵ Another multi-work volume from Naestved that has survived today but has not been registered by

12 Birgitte Langkilde, *Libri monasteriorum Danicorum mediae aetatis – index ad tempus compositus/Danske middelalderklostres böger – en förelöbig registrant* (Århus 2009), <http://www.statsbiblioteket.dk/forskning/birgitte-langkilde/Arbejdspapirer9.pdf>. There is a certain amount of overlap among Langkilde's lists of books, so one of my tasks has been to exclude all duplicates (pp. 34–38). Langkilde's naming of the columns of her lists sometimes makes it hard to discern whether a given date refers to the date of the printed book indicated in an earlier column or to that of a printed edition of a manuscript. Let us take as an example p. 34, Baptista de Salis' *Summa*. The signature in column 2 seems to indicate a manuscript, but the Madsen number refers to a printed book and the incunable edition is described here. And if the second title on the same list, the Danish rhymed chronicle, refers to a manuscript, why is it listed among incunabula?

13 Ibid., 35–37.

14 Ibid., 39–42, here 41–42, partly doubled by the last three entries on p. 38.

15 According to Madsen, *Regulae grammaticales antiquorum* was printed at an unknown date in Cologne, not in 1493 by Govert van Ghemen in Copenhagen as listed by in Langkilde, *Libri*, 41.

Birgitte Langkilde, contains an edition of the *Regulae* produced in Cologne, together with Herben's *De constructione substantivorum*, Cologne 1494. Also with Benedictine roots are a copy of Petrus Hispanus' *Summulae*, Deventer 1495, and the aforementioned *Rudimentum novitiorum*, which at a later date was transferred to Naestved. The house of the regular Augustinians in Landskrona owned a number of titles that are now in Strängnäs Cathedral Library: Zochis, *Canon*, Padova 1472, Jacobus de Clusa, *Sermones* and a work by Augustine.

After the introduction of the Reformation in Denmark, a collection containing works that had previously been in the libraries of Danish Franciscan monasteries was assembled;¹⁶ these monasteries had been dissolved and their members forced to leave Denmark or the order.¹⁷ The driving force behind the assembly, and thus survival, of these printed works of Danish Franciscan provenances was Lütke Naamensen, one of the last Franciscans in Denmark.¹⁸ In the 1530s, while living in exile in Germany, Naamensen had been commissioned to care for the material belongings of the Danish province of the Franciscan order, including the books that belonged to Franciscan monasteries in Denmark. Many books had already been destroyed or confiscated, but Naamensen was able to rescue at least a small number of works, which would later form the basis of the library at the humanist school he founded in his home town of Flensburg after 1545. Today, the core of that collection has been preserved in the museum of Flensburg, with additional works in the Royal Library in Copenhagen and the library of the Altes Gymnasium, a Latin school, in Flensburg. All in all, thirty-three books have survived the dispersal of the Franciscan libraries and through the subsequent nearly five centuries. Five Franciscan monasteries are represented by these works: Horsens, Ribe, Slesvig, Toender and Viborg. The provenance inscriptions are from a relatively late date in these works' history, that is, from the second quarter of the sixteen century. In many cases they tell of either the donation of the book to the last minister of the Franciscan province of Dacia (Denmark), Andreas Bartoldi, or mark the occasion on which Naamensen took a book into his protection, as is the case for a multi-edition volume with works by Jean Despautère printed in Paris and Limoges between 1518 and 1520. Severin Nicolai, one of the last Franciscans in

16 Gerhard Kraack, *Die St.-Nikolai-Bibliothek zu Flensburg: Eine Büchersammlung aus dem Jahrhundert der Reformation* (Flensburg 1984). Langkilde, *Libri*, 48–53.

17 Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen, 'De danske franciskaneres boeger i Flensburg', *Kirkehistoriske samlinger* (1977), 51–80. Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner in den nordischen Ländern im Mittelalter* (Kevelaer 2002).

18 Rasmussen, *De danske franciskaneres boeger*, 53ff. Ludolphus Naamanus and other name forms are known.

Denmark, acquired, or at least had access to, Erasmus of Rotterdam's edition of the New Testament, Amsterdam 1522, and Johannes Oecolampadius' edition of Theophylact's commentaries on the Gospels printed in Basel in 1525.¹⁹ The names of five other monks have been preserved in annotations. Two additional works of Franciscan provenance can be identified in Langkilde's list:²⁰ a copy of Duns Scotus' work *Liber sententiarum*, Venice 1481, which had been in the monastery of St. Anna in Helsingør, now belongs to the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and a fragment of the *Missale Romanum* from an unidentified monastery is now in Uppsala University Library.

While the major monastic collections will be analysed below, a number of observations can already be made here, based on almost 560 pre-Reformation titles found in Danish monastic book collections.²¹ They give a sense of monastic literary culture as manifested in printed books, in particular as they bring to our attention the diversity of the works found across monastic institutions in Denmark. Only one title appears in more than three collections: Ludolphus de Saxonia's *Vita Christi*, which was present in Cismar, Øm, Slesvig and Fyn. Six titles were to be found in three collections, and forty-eight titles were included in two libraries. Seventy-nine per cent or 441 books belonged to only one collection. These figures bear witness to the impressive variety within Danish monastic book culture and suggest that the Danish book market was able to supply monasteries with a very broad range of authors and titles. Printers, publishers and booksellers trading with Denmark certainly found a market ready to absorb a multiplicity of titles, although these works were of a specific theological nature. In the decades before the Reformation, Danish book culture was shaped by a large volume of trade with circumscribed consumer groups. It seems likely that in the earliest years of print, single copies were often available on the market. The Malmö List of the early 1520s and, to a lesser extent, the printing business of Hans Urne two decades earlier both tell of the emergence of a new multiple-copy market, in which a few titles were made available in larger numbers of copies and the market was no longer limited to small groups of the more highly educated (Table 3.1).

19 Individual ownership of books within the Franciscan order in pre-Reformation Scandinavia, often camouflaged as usership only, has been discussed by Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner*, 360–361, 422–424.

20 The copy of Govert van Ghemen's 1493 Copenhagen edition of the *Fundamentum in grammatica* (Madsen, *Katalog*, no. 1641) that Langkilde wrongly ascribes to the Franciscan monastery St. Peter in Naestved belongs in fact to the Benedictine monastery of the same name; Langkilde, *Libri*, 37.

21 Appendix 2 contains a list of the titles in some of the most important Danish religious libraries.

TABLE 3.1 *Danish monastic collections: share of unique titles.*

Collection	All titles	Unique titles	Unique titles as percentage of all titles in collection
Cismar	133	96	72
Fyn	25	22	88
Slesvig	188	146	78
Øm	168	146	87
Other Danish monasteries	45	31	69
Total	559	441	79

The random remnants of monastic book collections from the pre-Reformation period are characterised as much by what they do not contain as by what they do include. Apart from the almost ubiquitous editions of the Danish chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus in both Latin and Danish, the inventories, catalogues and lists of preserved books analysed here are almost completely without Danish books, understood as books produced in Denmark and/or in Danish.²² Indeed, texts in languages other than Latin are exceptional. The inventory of the manor house on the island of Fyn that belonged to the bishop of Odense mentions both a German chronicle and prayer books in Danish,²³ but the only other non-Latin book that can positively be identified as a printed book is a translation of the New Testament into Danish from the early 1520s in the library of the monastery in Øm. Danish or German books were not usually part of institutionally owned, academic-theological book collections. Only small numbers of works in German or Danish have survived in general, and they tend to have lay provenances. If such works were part of monastic and clerical book collections, they might not have been included in their catalogues or inventories, and any conclusions about their presence must remain speculative. Danish book production, which appears to have found its niche among the

22 The principal exception from this rule is the Malmö List, on which see chapter 2 and appendix 1.

23 One unidentified German chronicle, 'Item j [kronick] paa Tyske', 2 copies of a Danish Book of Hours, 'Item j Hore in Danica lingua de maiori forma' and 'horas in Danica lingua', as well as 20 copies of a Danish prayer-book, 'Item xx Oraria in Danica lingua'; see below pp. 370–372.

literate lay population, cannot be accessed from the monastic sources that are available to us.²⁴

Archival and literary sources hint at other institutional book collections, but we do not have catalogues or other lists of titles, let alone the works themselves. Shortly after the Reformation, in 1536, the monastery of the Norbertines in Børglum was said to contain about 150 books.²⁵ During the confusion of civil war and Reformation, the Franciscans in Roskilde deposited their books in the manor house of Master Anders Glob in Copenhagen, but all these works have disappeared.²⁶ It seems that the books lodged in the hospital in Aalborg may have originally belonged to monasteries that were under threat and later dissolved. Part of that collection was transferred to the library of Budolfi church in 1575 but brought back to the hospital in the early eighteenth century, when it numbered about 109 folio, 13 quarto and 3 octavo volumes.²⁷ There we lose track of the collection. The library of Aarhus Cathedral was the focus of another attempt to save remnants of Danish book culture. The library had been reassembled on the orders of King Frederik II (1559–1588) to provide a home for the books that had belonged to the medieval cathedral at Aarhus, and it contained about 400 folio volumes and an unknown number of books in other formats. The entire library is said to have been sold in 1654. The library of the cathedral in Haderslev was incorporated into Haderslev Latin school, but we know nothing of its content (Table 3.2).²⁸

The book collection known as *Dringelbergska biblioteket* was the library of the parish church of St Peter in Malmö.²⁹ Founded in the fifteenth century, the library was stored away in 1553 in the chapel of the Dringelberg family. A remnant of only forty books finally reached Malmö Museum in 1911.³⁰

24 Horstbøll has written the history of printing in Danish in the early sixteenth century, but his sources for this early period of Danish public printing are still very limited; see Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, 51–53. It is indicative of the lack of sources for the pre-Reformation period that after a recapitulation of the introduction of printing in Denmark and a few remarks on the Malmö List, Horstbøll jumps directly to the Reformation, in a much more substantial chapter.

25 Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 40.

26 *Ibid.*, 37.

27 *Ibid.*, 38.

28 *Ibid.*, 37.

29 Hellström, 'Dringelberska libreriet'.

30 One volume with the works of Augustine (Basel 1528–1529) also contains fragments of two pre-Reformation works used to reinforce a binding commissioned by Frans Bogeförer and carried out by Hans Rimesnider in 1545: *Missale ordinis Fratrum Minorum*,

TABLE 3.2 *The Dringelberg library in Malmö: pre-Reformation provenances.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
<i>Biblia latina. P. 2</i> ³¹	Cologne	Winter	1475, ca.
<i>Lyra Textus biblie cum glosa ordinaria</i> ³²	Basel	Froben & Petri	1506–1508
<i>Epistolae Pauli, ed. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis</i> ³³	Paris(?)	Unknown	1517(?)
<i>Concordantiae maiores cum declinabilium utriusque instrumenti tum indeclinabilium dictionum</i>	Basel	Froben	1523

The city of Lund, one of the oldest in Denmark and the seat of the archbishop is situated a few miles to the northeast of Malmö. The existence of a library in Lund would have been a matter of course. That collection would not only have provided multiple copies of the liturgical books that were necessary for the daily services at the main altar and the numerous chapels in the cathedral, but also have met the scholarly needs of the educated clerics. Birger Gunnersen, archbishop from 1497, is said to have recognised the immense possibilities of printing – one of the editions of Saxo Grammaticus has been ascribed to him.³⁴ But all in all, a rather unimpressive five printed works intended for the diocese of Lund left the presses over the course of more than twenty years: the statutes of the synod of Lund (Copenhagen 1497), the provincial statutes and a missal (both Paris 1514), a breviary (Paris 1517) and the Diurnal that appeared in the Malmö List (Paris before 1520?). Gunnersen seems to have been more successful in

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- Lübeck Stephanus Arndes 1504 (Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 178, still in St. Peter's church; C.G. Hellström, 'Några nyfunna blad av Missale ordinis Fratrum minorum', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 28 (1941), 193–194 and an unidentified incunable, probably printed in Brussels; Hellström, 'Dringelberska libreriet', 52 and illustration on p. 49.
- 31 C.G. Hellström, "'Dringelbergskas libreriet' En studie', *Malmö fornminnesförening Årsskrift* (1940) 38–64, here 53–55; now in Malmö Museum.
- 32 Ibid., 52; now in Malmö Museum.
- 33 This copy had been borrowed in 1529 by Frans Wormordsen, the Lutheran reformer of Malmö but never returned and is lost today; Hellström, 'Dringelberska libreriet', 52–53, footnote 41. The same title appears on the Malmö List of the early 1520s, so this might be the very copy imported by Pedersen.
- 34 Christian Callmer, 'Samlingar av tryckta böcker i Lund före universitetsbibliotekets tillkomst', *Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund. Årsbok* (1983), 41–64; for Gunnersen's own books see here p. 45.

acquiring books for his library or in encouraging members of his cathedral chapter to donate books. In 1983, Christian Callmer identified twenty-three books printed in the fifteenth century that once belonged to the library of the cathedral of Lund. Forty-six titles belonged to the cathedral library before the Reformation. The twenty-nine titles that lack any other indication of provenance may have been acquired by the library itself.³⁵ It is an impressive collection of books, predominantly on canon law, that almost outnumbers the law books in Copenhagen University Library at that time (see below pp. 213–227). A Latin school with a link to the cathedral also existed, but the content of its late medieval library is impossible to identify or reconstruct (Table 3.3).³⁶

TABLE 3.3 *Lund Cathedral Library.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologiae</i>	Strasbourg	Grüninger	1496
Bertachinus <i>Repertorium iuris utriusque</i>	Lyons	Siber	1499
Busch <i>Speculum exemplorum</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1490
<i>Corpus iuris civilis Digestum vetus</i>	Venice	Herbort	1482
<i>Corpus iuris civilis Infortiatum</i>	Venice	Arrivabene	1490
Diaz de Montalvo <i>Repertorium quaestionum super Nicolaum de Tudeschis</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485
Duns Scotus <i>Quaestiones</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1481
Duns Scotus <i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum</i> ³⁷	Venice	Jenson (Herbort)	1481
Franciscus Accursius <i>Casus longi super digesto novo</i> ³⁸	Lyons	Siber	1490–1493
Gratianus <i>Decretum cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis</i> ³⁹	Venice	Baptista de Tortis	1496

(Continued)

35 On books donated to the library by members of the cathedral chapter see *ibid.*, 46–50.

36 Göte Klingberg, *Läroböcker under fem sekler* (Lund 1985).

37 Bound after Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri*.

38 Bound together with Iustinianus *Digestum vetus* in a contemporary Lund binding and incorporated into the library sometime between 1500 and 1525.

39 Part of the library by 1541.

TABLE 3.3 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Gratianus <i>Decretum cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis</i> ⁴⁰	Venice	Baptista de Tortis	1499
Gregorius IX. <i>Decretales</i> ⁴¹	Venice	Baptista de Tortis	1494
Gregorius IX. <i>Decretales cum glossa Hieronymus Clarius</i> ⁴²	Venice	Baptista de Tortis	1496
Guido de Baysio <i>Rosarium decretorum</i> ⁴³	Venice	Torresanus	1495
Helias Regnierius <i>Casus longi Sexti et Clementinarum</i> ⁴⁴	Strasbourg	Unknown	1496
Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli de tempore</i>	Strasbourg	Unknown	1489
Iustinianus <i>Codex Iustinianus digesta</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1488
Iustinianus <i>Corpus iuris civilis Digestum novum</i> ⁴⁵	Venice	Andreas Calabrensis	1491
Iustinianus <i>Corpus iuris civilis Digestum vetus</i> ⁴⁶	Venice	Torresanus	1491
Lombardus <i>Sententiarum libri</i> ⁴⁷	Basel or Venice	Kesler or Scotus (Locatellus)	1489
Martinus Polonus <i>Margarita decreti seu tabula Martiniana</i> ⁴⁸	Strasbourg	Jusner	1499
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Kommentar zu den Decretales Gregorius IX</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485–1486

(Continued)

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- 40 Bound in a contemporary Lund binding and incorporated into the library by 1535/1536.
 41 Contemporary locally produced binding.
 42 In a contemporary, locally produced binding and incorporated into the library by 1541.
 43 Incorporated into the library by 1541.
 44 Bound together with Martinus Polonus.
 45 Acquired sometime between 1500 and 1525.
 46 Bound together with Vivianus Tuscus.
 47 Bound together with Duns Scotus.
 48 Bound together with Helias Regnierius.

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Lectura super primo libro Decretalium cum additionibus Antonii de Butrio</i>	Venice	Bernard de Novaria	1485
Paratus <i>Sermones Parato de tempore et de sanctis</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1496
Philippus de Bergamo <i>Supplementum chronicarum</i> ⁴⁹	Venice	Rizus	1492/1493
Pseudo-Bonaventura <i>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</i>	Ulm?	Zainer	1481
Rolewinck <i>Fasciculus temporum</i> (Dutch)	Utrecht	Veldener	1480
Vivianus Tuscus <i>Casus longi super Digesto vetere</i> ⁵⁰	Lyons	Siber	1490–1493
Vivianus Tuscus <i>Corpus iuris civilis Infortiatum</i>	Venice	Baptista de Tortis	1497/1498

All the collections and books presented in this chapter so far were part of the Catholic pre-Reformation culture and book world of Denmark. Some provenances date from after the introduction of the Reformation in Denmark, showing that monastic life continued for some years, although concentrated in a diminishing number of monasteries under increasing restrictions. There are very strong parallels with the books assembled by and used at other institutions as described below.

The Slesvig Preacher's Library, 1519

A 1519 inventory of books in the house of the lecturer in theology at the cathedral in Slesvig contains a majority (83%) of printed books, with the remainder in manuscript.⁵¹ A large part of the collection was held in the lecturer's house

49 This may have been the copy that was part of the so-called 'Bibliotheca Antiqua' of Lund University Library and not a copy belonging to the cathedral library; Callmer, *Samlingar*, 46–47.

50 Bound together with Justinian and incorporated into the library sometime between 1500 and 1525.

51 Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 308. For a complete list of titles see appendix 3.

itself, with some books in the library of Slesvig Cathedral.⁵² The books have largely been systematically divided into three sections in the inventory. The first section, ‘In sacris literis’, contains editions of the Bible and other religious works such as catechetical, devotional, ecclesiastical and theological texts that would have been used by the lecturer, but also a number of humanist works and a few law books. The second section is entitled ‘In iure’ and largely contains works of canon and civil law, but also includes a few other books, including some by humanist authors. The last section, ‘In naturalibus, historiis, artibus humanitatis et aliis’, contains editions of classical authors and works of history and humanistic, pedagogical and philosophical literature (Table 3.4).

The efforts of the unknown writer in describing the library are characterized by a high level of bibliographical reliability, with additional rich information on physical features of the books such as size or state of bindings. The wording of the entries is somewhat archaic. A number of descriptions do not replicate

TABLE 3.4 *The Slesvig inventory.*

Section	Number of entries	Printed books: titles/volumes	Manuscripts: titles/volumes
I	172 (1–172)	142/94	29/20
II	27 (173–199)	22/24	67
III	35 (200–234)	31/28	4/4
Total	234	195/146	39/31

52 ‘Hii suprascripti sunt libri meliores quos repperi in domo lecture Sleswicensis. Sunt et alii in variis collecti et scripti, non tamen ligati asscribis, sed partim pergamenno, partim vero adhuc illigati, sicut videri potest in cubili prope in eadem domo ad libros deputato. Prescripti libri partim sunt in domo lecture, partim in libraria ecclesie Sleswicensis in capsula ibidem inclusi’. Just as the Malmö List, the Slesvig inventory is full of descriptive elements indicating the shape, decoration and binding of the books in the library. The size is characterized by elements such as ‘in maiori/magna/media/mediocri/minori/mino forma’, indicating books of large, medium and small size. An exception is the phrase ‘in parvo libro’, which is used only once (193). The binding is usually described in terms of colour and material, i.e., ‘nigro corio’ (black leather). We can visualise a book ‘in mino forma medio corio circumdatus’ as a small-format book bound in a half leather binding covering slightly more than the spine and adjacent bands of the front and back covers. More elaborately decorated books are described in some detail, such as 40–41, which have ‘aureis litteris foris signato’, i.e., gold letters on the covers. Entry 57 includes letters or signatures written in silver inside the book.

the actual titles of the books but instead rely upon incipits and medieval models of citing authors and titles. The inventory lists books in better condition that were stored in the lecturer's house or the cathedral library but contains only vague references to partially legible books. Manuscripts are indicated by different forms of the word 'scriptus'. The origins of the manuscripts are generally not recorded, although one or two entries refer to notes taken during a university or college lecture. Only entry 150 explicitly indicates the place of origin: 'Collectae in quattuor libros sententiarum scriptae Rostochii in uno volumine'.

Lack of clarity in the wording of the entries and the description of the titles makes the identification of editions difficult, and we can do so for only about one third of the printed works, or at least give a date range within which the Slesvig copy was likely printed. For another 10% of the printed books, the closest we can come is the century of printing, and all other entries are so imprecise that even this broad labelling is impossible. The following overview adopts a chronological order as far as it can be established, beginning with the first works to be printed. These earliest editions that can be dated with reasonable accuracy were printed in the late 1460s and early 1470s and include works by Pius II (Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini), *De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia*, probably published in Cologne (165), and Augustine (105 and 159). Twenty-five titles were printed in the 1470s and cover both religious literature and humanistic and pedagogical books, including the Lübeck psalter of 1478 and at least one law book. Thirteen books were first printed in the 1480s. The copy of the *Chronicon slavica* printed in Lübeck in 1485 (212) was acquired either in Lübeck or Slesvig from the printer himself, Matthaeus Brandis. Morung's satirical *Passio dominorum sacerdotum sub dominio marchionis secundum Matthaeum*, printed twice, in 1482 and 1483, (146) might have been acquired during studies at Vienna University. Two titles may have been Dutch editions, *De consideratione* by Bernard of Clairvaux (31) and the *Tractatus de salutatione angelica* (123). Eighteen editions were first printed in the 1490s, with represented printing centres including Cologne or Deventer, Paris (perhaps an echo of Pedersen's connections), Venice, Basel, Lyons and Nuremberg. A further fifteen books are more likely to have been printed in the fifteenth century than the sixteenth century. Fourteen titles were printed between 1501 and 1509, among them one of the two Danish books on the list, a copy of Matthaeus Brandis' edition of the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (214). There appear to have been fewer editions in the first decade of the sixteenth century from Cologne or the Netherlands, although Thomas Aquinas' *Quodlibeta varie questiones* (98) might have been printed in Cologne in 1501, while the copy of Mapheus Vegius' *Dialogus super Alethiam et Philaleten* (162)

seems to have come from Zwolle. Among the youngest books we find four editions that were first printed after 1510, including the other Danish book, a copy of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (43), which was printed by Poul Raeff in Copenhagen in 1514. Another nine titles may derive from unidentified sixteenth-century editions.

Again we see the wide trading network that enabled Scandinavian readers to participate in European book culture. The inventory contains books probably acquired on location in Vienna (146), Rome (110) or Brussels (210). The acquisition of some books would have required access only to the products of local (214) or regional printing presses (212). We sense the presence of the Kobergers, Drach, and Badin, all international book traders. The majority of the books recorded in the inventory could well have been acquired abroad rather than in Slesvig. The Slesvig inventory gives illuminating access to the lecturer's literary world, with a sense of the travels, intellectual milieus and personal experiences that could have influenced the composition of the collection. Even more significant is the light this inventory throws on the nature of Danish book culture and, in particular, on how a peripheral geography could be overcome.

The library in the lecturer's house in Slesvig appears to have been a relatively dated and specialised theological collection largely assembled in the first decades of its existence in the shadow of Slesvig Cathedral. The major part of the collection equipped the lecturer to perform his responsibilities as preacher and teacher, but a number of books appear to bear witness to his personal tastes. Among the 195 books registered in the inventory – some titles are listed in more than one copy, apparently in different editions – some authors appear more frequently than others. Nine copies are of works by Bernard of Clairvaux, including three collections of sermons (39–40, 71) and a copy of the *Flores* now ascribed to Pseudo-Bernardus Claraevallensis (47). Thomas Aquinas appears seven times, including three different copies of the *Summa theologica* (87, 89 and 90), buttressed by Petrus de Bergamo's *Tabula in libros Thomae de Aquino* (104). There are seven copies of works by Augustine and four editions of the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais (11–13 and 200). A number of theological writers appear in the inventory with three titles each: the church father Dio Chrysostom, the Parisian theologian Jean Gerson, Pope Gregory I, Juan de Torquemada and Johannes Nider. Humanist authors are well represented by works that include five titles each of Petrarch and Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II. Unfamiliar names and works also appear. Besides a wide range of classical and humanist authors, the inventory also includes Vespucci's letter on the discovery of America, *Mundus novus* (111), and the woodcut called the *Virgin of the Rosary* (120), rather ephemeral works such as Pacheco's

Obedientia Potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitaniae Regis (110) and the *Oratio in funere Petri Cardinalis* (130), and Morung's aforementioned *Passio dominorum sacerdotum sub dominio marchionis secundum Matthaëum* (146). The remaining authors and the anonymous works generally appear only once and include titles familiar from the Scandinavian pre-Reformation book world such as the *Stella clericorum* (133) and authors such as Pelbartus de Temeswar (56) and Meffret (57), to mention just a few.

The Slesvig inventory covers not only religious works but also a notable range of secular literature. The printing dates of the secular literature, when they are available, bunch within certain periods, with one such cluster in the 1460s and early 1470s and another in the early sixteenth century. For the material that we know to have been printed after 1500, eight religious works sit alongside a similar number of secular works. If we expand our view to include all titles that have both fifteenth and sixteenth century editions, the number of religious books that might have been printed in the sixteenth century outnumbers the secular books by only one (17 against 16). Although the statistical basis for analysis of literary taste and acquisition patterns is admittedly skimpy, we are able to tackle questions about acquisitions over time, even if we cannot provide definitive answers (Table 3.5).

The number of religious titles and their share of the total number of titles on the Slesvig List and the Malmö List are very similar, with 122 (62%) in the former and 129 (64.5%) in the latter. The content of the lecturer's library follows the same pattern as the Malmö List with regard to catechetical and ecclesiastical literature, but has a smaller proportion of titles that can be categorised as devotional and liturgical. With fifty-four titles (more than 25%) on general theology, the Slesvig inventory is strong in this literary field. None of these titles had been printed in Denmark or explicitly for the Danish book market. Although Augustine (15, 16, 76, 101, 118 and 119), and Thomas Aquinas, the master of scholastic theology (10, 87, 89, 90, 98, 105 and 137) dominate, the theological titles provide a broad blend of older and contemporary authors. Catechetical literature (31 copies) is the second largest category amongst religious books and none of its titles were printed for the Danish market during the period in question. Only one work among the eighteen ecclesiastical works in the Slesvig collection is also found on the Malmö List, the *Stella clericorum* (133), and none were products of Danish pre-Reformation book production.

The lecturer's collection of ecclesiastical books contains works by Bernard of Clairvaux and Pius II. Several of these texts, i.e. Pius II's *Dialogus contra Bohemos atque Thaboritas*, probably from the 1472 Cologne edition (125) deal with the Mass and the position of the Catholic Church on issues such as the Hussites. Two anonymous popular prints addressed the relationship of the

TABLE 3.5 *The Slesvig List, the Malmö List, and Danish book production in comparison.*

Content	Slesvig		Malmö		Danish	
	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	122	62	129	64.5	70	53
Bible	7	4	1	0.5	4	3
Catechetical	31	16	34	17	—	0
Devotional	10	5	44	22	21	16
Ecclesiastical	18	9	17	8.5	13	10
Liturgical	2	1	16	8	32	24
Theology	54	27	17	8.5	—	0
<i>Secular literature:</i>	73	39	71	35.5	62	47
Classical	12	6	8	4	—	0
History	10	5	25	12.5	6	5
Humanism	14	7	9	4.5	2	2
Law	20	10	9	4.5	7	5
Sciences	5	3	6	3	2	2
Philosophy	3	2	4	2	—	0
Politics	1	1	2	1	18	14
Popular	1	1	1	0.5	5	4
Pedagogical	7	4	7	3.5	22	17
Total	195	101	200	100	132	100

church with society, the *Dialogus inter Hugonem, Catonem, et Oliverium super libertate ecclesiastica* (79) and the *Dialogus inter clericum et militem super dignitate papali et regia* (167). Of particular interest is an unidentified *Liber de indulgentis* (68) attributed in the inventory to Marinus de Fregeno, a papal emissary to northern Europe who in the 1470s and 1480s was involved in the sale of indulgences to finance a crusade. Marinus de Fregeno is known to have produced two letters of indulgence (Lübeck, 1475 and Rostock, 1476), but that he was the author of a theological work on the indulgence is new information. The number of devotional titles is small and only one title also appears on the Malmö List, Duranti's *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (160). While the devotional literature in the Malmö List has a marked focus on Christ, the Slesvig collection is strong on literature related to the Virgin Mary (9, 70, 100 and 120–124). Five of these eight titles are bound together in one volume, and none were produced by or for the Danish market. Some of the Bibles (1–6), which form a

larger share of all religious literature here than in the Malmö List, may be editions also found on the Malmö List, with the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (43) perhaps a copy of Poul Raeff's Copenhagen edition of 1514. The collection includes only two liturgical books, neither of which belonged to a Danish diocese. The presence of a *Breviarium Lubicense*, printed in Lübeck in 1478 (172), and of the *Breviarium Romanum* (148) may point at acquisitions made during travels outside Denmark. It is certainly possible that Danish liturgical books were stored in the cathedral and were not part of the lecturer's personal collection.

The Slesvig collection has a strong secular component that does not reflect the scholarly character of Danish secular production but is in accord with the Malmö List. Its strength does not lie in politics and popular literature (1 title each) or pedagogical literature (7 titles). The books we find in these fields seem to give a flavour of the lecturer's own education, with popular humanist literature (189) and Morung's satirical work on politics in Würzburg (146) as well as number of dictionaries and Pius II's text on education *De educatione puerorum ad regem Bohemiae liber* (163). The small group of scientific books (5 titles) is strongly connected to theology, too, be it Isidorus' *Etymologiae* (201) or Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale* (200), neither of which is a surprising find in the library of an academically trained theologian. The surprise lies instead in the large number of historical works or works by classical or contemporary humanist authors. The historical works cover both ecclesiastical and secular history and remind us of Danish readers' great interest in history. This section of the collection contains chronicles of the Slavs (212), the Danes (214) and the Bohemians (199) as well as histories of the church, the popes and the saints (21, 22, 114 and 198). Only two of these historical works also appear on the Malmö List, namely, Sabellicus' *Historia Hebraeorum* (21) and the ubiquitous *De Denscke kroneke* (214). Among the fourteen works by humanist authors we meet at least two leading writers, Petrarch (5 titles) and Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini (2 titles). Again a number of titles seem to suggest the lecturer's travels in Europe, including the *Oratio in funere Petri Cardinalis* (130) and Pacheco's *Obedientia Potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitaniae Regis* (110).

Among the twelve classical works are a wide range of authors, from Cassiodorus and Cato to Plutarch and Priscianus. The editions of works by Lucan (222), Ovid (218) and Plutarch (205) were hitherto unknown on the Danish market. That no author is represented by more than one title bears witness to an extensive interest in classical literature as a genre that does not involve more intensive studies of specific authors. This literary category has the largest number of books that also appear on the Malmö List. The largest single category among the secular books consists of twenty titles that address legal matters, another Danish preoccupation. It is formed by a mixture of

standard summaries of canon law, the *Decretales* (173), Gratian (174) and the *Constitutiones Clementinae* (176), and a number of the principal commentaries, by Nicolaus Panormitanus (179), Petrus de Monte (186) and Guido de Baisio (180). Some titles reflect an interest in the practical implications of canon law for the everyday life of the church and the laity, with two editions of the *Arbores consanguinitatis* (78 and 108), a *Formulare advocatorum et procuratorum Romane curie* (190) and a *Tractatus de contractibus et vitalitis* (75). Civil law is addressed in two books that again could be associated with the lecturer's university studies, Werner von Schussenried's *Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque Jure* (192) and Petrus de Monte's *Repertorium utriusque juris* (186). Only two legal titles also appear on the Malmö List, a copy of Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (197) and an anonymous *Vocabularius juris* (188).

The Slesvig inventory reveals the existence of a fine theological library in southern Denmark in the years before the Reformation. Information beyond the list itself is scarce: we do not know the name of the lecturer, how and where he was educated, where he travelled, or how he acquired books while employed by the Slesvig chapter and bishop. We do not even know whether there was only one lecturer during the period in question. Maybe the Slesvig collection contributes not so much to a broader knowledge of Danish and north European book trade as to our knowledge of other elements of the pre-Reformation book world, namely, the nature of literary and academic cultures and the reception of authors of different genres. Read geographically, it tells us of the availability of specific works in a Danish cathedral town. Placed alongside the Malmö List, it provides us with a broader perspective on Danish book cultures and possible points of comparison of different book-related spheres. The Malmö List consists of books intended for a theologically engaged readership that was part of a wider undefined public book market. The limited overlap of authors and titles on the Slesvig inventory and the Malmö List and the small number of titles on the Slesvig inventory that are associated with production in or for Denmark are telling. The Slesvig collection was evidently tied to a specific function that was not fed by Danish domestic book production and its inventory provides a valuable sense of the breadth and complexity of Danish pre-Reformation literary and book cultures. It also suggests that institutional and individual customers did not have to look to domestic book production because they had access to a substantial transnational book market.

The Inventory of a House Belonging to the Bishop of Odense 1530–1532

The inventory of an episcopal mansion on the island of Fyn in the diocese of Odense dated between 1530 and 1532 and published in 1870 lists a number of

books.⁵³ Although the inventory was compiled in the early 1530s, the Reformation has left no mark on its contents, for not only does it lack works that address or are the product of Reformation ideas, but it contains Danish Catholic liturgical books and a spectrum of devotional and historical titles that is reminiscent of the slightly older Malmö List. About half of the titles in the Fyn inventory are also on the Malmö List, a duplication that principally concerns Danish titles: the *Breviarium Lundense* (26) and the *Breviarium Roschildense* (27), one or two versions of a Danish Book of Hours (6 and 19), Danish and Latin editions of Saxo Grammaticus' Danish history (3 and 12), three copies of an unidentified *Statuta synodalia* (20), and, finally, twenty copies of the Danish *Oraria* (18). There is no direct tie between the two lists, but the presence of these titles on both lists is revealing of the spread of Danish books over the country irrespective of whether they had been printed in Copenhagen, Odense or Paris. The remaining titles that the Fyn inventory has in common with the Malmö List are further indication of the significance of Pedersen as a distributor of both his own editions and works produced by Parisian presses: Bonaventura's *Vita Christi* (15) and an anonymous second *Vita Christi* (16), Books of Hours (14 and 20), which may be two editions, and John Maior's *In quartum sententiarum quaestiones* (1) (Table 3.6).

The entries are substantial and appear bibliographically correct. The compiler of this list includes information on the binding of each book using a language that is very similar to that of the Malmö List. Overall the works contained in the Fyn inventory seem to have been of quite recent date, with only one title definitely produced in the fifteenth century (5). The works of Pius II (10), Gazio (2), the anonymously published statutes of Danish dioceses (21), *Ogier le Danois* (24) and *Flores poetarum* (22) might have been printed in the fifteenth century as well. Certainly the majority of the books date from the sixteenth century. About one fifth of the titles that can be identified were most probably printed in Copenhagen (8, 12, and 18–21). About half of all identified titles may have been imported from France, and in particular from Paris (1–4, 6, 11, 14–16, 18–21, 24, 26 and 27). A title such as the popular *Ogier le Danois* may well have been part of a delivery of books from Paris arranged by Jean Badin in the late 1510s, although this theory must remain speculative. The remainder of the identified works were printed in Cologne, Basel, Venice or other western European centres of printing.

53 'Fortegnelse over endel Böger og andet Inventarium paa en Biskopsgaard i Fyns Stift', *Aarsberetninger fra Det Kongelige Geheimearchiv* 4 (1866–1870) Tillaegg III:1, 38–39. Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 324, wrongly describe this inventory as parallel to or even part of the Malmö List. For a complete list of titles see appendix 4.

TABLE 3.6 The Fyn inventory.

Content	Titles
<i>Religious literature:</i>	16
Bible	—
Catechetical	1
Devotional	9
Ecclesiastical	1
Liturgical	3
Theology	2
<i>Secular literature:</i>	11
Classical	1
History	4
Humanism	1
Law	—
Pedagogical	1
Philosophy	—
Politics	—
Popular	1
Sciences	3
Total	27

The Fyn inventory records the contents of a single episcopal household collection. That collection is indicative of both the bishop's personal interests and his wider responsibilities for his household and the clergy of his diocese. As head of the diocese of Odense, the bishop was involved in the supply and regulation of the printed material available to parishes and clergy. He apparently stocked multiple copies of certain books that would then have been distributed among or sold to clerics, in this case twenty copies of the Danish *Oraria* (18), the *Breviarium Ripense* (8) and three *Statuta synodalia* (21). The presence of three medical works in this collection – a *Vocabularius medicine* that may have been Champier's *De triplici disciplina Medicina* or part of this work (11), Gazio's *Floroda corona* (2), and Petrus de Montagnano's *Fasciculus medicinae* (7) – possibly throw light on the bishop's educational background. It is possible that the Danish and Latin Books of Hours and the Danish and German chronicles were part of the literary life of the mansion's household, with the bishop or, in his absence, the majordomo presiding at gatherings of that household.

At his mansion on the island of Fyn, the bishop of Odense had access to a small but assorted collection of printed books of almost all genres. Two third of the titles are in Latin and one third in Danish, with one title in French. We find Latin and Danish books in all categories. Although the devotional, ecclesiastical and historical literature is principally Danish, these works are not indicative of domestic Danish book production as they have largely been imported from Paris or German cities. While, as noted, almost half of the titles also appear on the Malmö List, only one title and one author are also on the Slesvig List: the Danish Saxo Grammaticus and an unidentified work by Pius II. This lack of duplication brings home the comparatively antiquated content of the lecturer's collection in Slesvig, but it also makes evident the significance of the collection of books assembled for the Danish book market by Christiern Pedersen in Malmö in the early 1520s. The bishop had access to, and was evidently interested in, a mixture of quite up-to-date Danish and foreign literature.

The Inventory of the Library of the Monastery of Øm, 1554

The inventory of the Danish Cistercian monastery of Øm, dated 1554, is the best known and most analysed of all Danish early modern book collections with roots in the pre-Reformation period.⁵⁴ Earlier research has considered its Cistercian context and positioned the collection within the Reformation discourse of Abbot Peter. Lacunae remain, however. Titles registered by the unknown cataloguer have not been identified in sufficient number in older works on this library, for example, and there is no statistical account of its contents. The Øm inventory is arranged in four sections (I–IV) and contains a total of 325 entries, representing 378 volumes. Unlike the cataloguers of other Danish pre-Reformation books, the compiler of the Øm list provides no information on the physical state of the books, their format, binding or decoration. The analysis that follows considers only pre-Reformation works within the library (Table 3.7).

The bibliographical entries are not as rewarding for the book historian as those of the Malmö, Slesvig and Fyn lists. Despite the inventory's limitations, however, reconstruction of its contents demonstrates that two decades after

54 'Øm Klosters Inventarium 1554', *Nye Samlinger til den danske Historie* 3 (1794), 302–325. Brian Patrick McGuire, *Conflict and Continuity at Øm Abbey: A Cistercian Experience in Medieval Denmark* (Copenhagen 1976), 128ff. Alice Madsen, 'Boeger, bogspaender og bogbeslag fra Øm Kloster', in *Øm Kloster: Kapitler af et middelalderligt cistercienserabbedis historie*, ed. Bo Gregersen and Carsten Selch Jensen (Emborg 2003), 121–134. Bo Gregersen, 'Storheden för faldet – Øm Kloster på reformationstiden', in *Øm Kloster*, ed. Gregersen and Jensen, 191–204. Langkilde, *Libri*, 43–47.

TABLE 3.7 *The Øm inventory.*

Section	Entries	Volumes	Pre-1526		Post-1525 or manuscripts		Undated		Manuscripts	
			Entries	Volumes	Entries	Volumes	Entries	Volumes	Entries	Volumes
I	120 (1-120)	137	42	53	76	82	2	2	0	0
II	20 (121-140)	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	19
III	180 (141-320)	178	137	135	16	16	20	20	7	7
IV	5 (321-325)	44	4	4	0	0	1	40	0	0
Total	325	378	183	192	92	98	23	62	27	26

the introduction of the Reformation to Denmark, a large quantity of pre-Reformation literature remained. Among the 325 entries covering 378 volumes, there are 183 entries (193 volumes) produced before 1526. A further small group of undated titles may also concern pre-1526 editions (23 entries for 62 volumes). Less than a third of the collection as recorded seems to have been printed after 1525. At heart, this list describes a predominantly late medieval Catholic library. Most of the older literature was found in the common library, the part of the monastery's book collection that was accessible to all its residents (section III of the inventory). Abbot Peter also had access to a large additional collection (section I) that contained mainly Reformation literature. This distinction is indicative of the different tasks of the abbot and the brothers. The abbot had need of direct access to recent theological literature, including a large number of works by Lutheran authors, while the brethren read and sang the Mass and preached in a still unbroken Catholic tradition. Section II consists of manuscripts only, while section IV registers the choir books, which we assume were printed as we are not told otherwise.

A small group of entries tells of books, and authors, that are known in manuscript form, or at least are very similar to manuscript works of which we know, but that I have been unable to identify satisfactorily. The *Exordium ordinis cisterciensium* may have been a printed version of one of two or three manuscript works, but none of these works is known to have been printed. The author 'Johannes de villa alba' may be the thirteenth-century John Halgren of

Abbeville, but his only work known to have appeared in print was a translation of his *Cantica Canticorum*, which is not the work in the inventory. Similarly, no works by St Faustus, bishop of Riez, are recorded as having appeared in print. The *Sermones vilhelmi de lugduno* is known from at least one manuscript in Assisi but not in print, yet the entry lacks any indication that it records a manuscript. We cannot know if the compiler of the inventory failed to identify this work as a manuscript in the list, or whether he is describing a previously unknown printed work. Finally there is the *Legendulum balich*, a work that has proven entirely unidentifiable.

The majority of the books that appear in unidentified editions – they are, though, most probably pre-Reformation works – are liturgical: four breviaries, Balbus' *Catholicon*, nine missals, forty antiphonaries and other 'Libri chorales'. The list also includes collections of sermons, books on canon law, devotional literature and writings of the Church Fathers, about eighty of which can be identified and dated. The origins of these works demonstrate the international character of the collection. Some of these books, and especially those printed in the fifteenth century, would surely have reached the monastery before 1500, as seems to be the case for works of Bernard of Clairveaux, the *Liber Barlaam* or the *Corona beate Marie virginis*. The earliest printed books appeared in Augsburg in the 1470s, with works from Strasbourg printed in the 1480s and individual works from Mainz and Speyer. Early sixteenth-century printed material came from established printing shops in Basel, Leipzig and Paris, with the first Wittenberg products dated to the end of the period. Among the pre-1526 books are only two that are Danish, the inevitable Saxo Grammaticus, presumably in Pedersen's 1514 Paris edition, and a New Testament published in Leipzig in 1524. The inventory does not include any of the Danish ecclesiastical and devotional works that we have found in other collections. Almost everything is in Latin, but in addition to the works in Danish, there is also a copy of Martin Luther's German *Postilla*.

The Øm collection has a number of authors and titles in common with other Danish book lists. About 16% of the pre-Reformation authors appear on the Malmö List as well, including Augustine, Erasmus, Vincent of Beauvais, and Jerome, but only 5% of authors *and* titles: Duranti's *Rationale divinatorum*, Flavius Josephus' Jewish history, Jerome's *Vitae patrum*, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aureum* and the so-frequently-encountered Saxo Grammaticus. The lists may prove to have liturgical books in common, such as the breviaries and missals, if we were able to identify them. The Øm list also replicates a significant portion of the Slesvig collection, for they share more than 17% of the authors, including Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux and Jerome, and 14% of the titles, including many of the collections of sermons.

Late medieval Danish book culture was dominated by religious needs, and it is therefore not surprising that almost one third of the titles recorded for Øm and Slesvig were religious literature. Certain authors – the Church Fathers (Augustine, Chrysostom, Gregory I) and medieval theologians (Thomas Aquinas, Bernard of Clairvaux), for example – occupy a prominent place within the canon of theological literature, but the variety of authors and titles witnesses to the impressive supply of books available to Danish readers. Even as we bear in mind the lack of information on the Scandinavian pre-Reformation book trade, at least we can contend that the Danish book trade involved large numbers of authors and titles but only small numbers of copies. The Øm collection and the Slesvig library represent an older era of theological-academic book culture than the Malmö List, with the Malmö List suggesting the spread of devotional reading through wide layers of Danish society towards the end of the Catholic period.

The library in Øm was a substantial theological collection, with its various parts telling of various aspects of religious life and thought. Brian Patrick McGuire and Bo Gregersen have analysed the theological profiles of Abbot Peter's collection and the common book collection respectively. Their focus is, first, on the impact of the Reformation and, second, on the qualities of the different parts of the collection; they do not consider the ties of these works to a particular local book culture. For McGuire, the content of the brothers' library was most suited to the edification of the members of the monastery and the promotion of monastic life, as well as to preparation of sermons.⁵⁵ The abbot's library, by contrast, was intended for learning and teaching. McGuire also considers the impact of the Reformation on monastic Denmark, for Abbot Peter's interests had generated a book collection that would have supported the education of Protestant clergy.⁵⁶ Alice Madsen confirms her colleague's analysis, adding remarks on the distinctly Catholic element of the collection.⁵⁷

Bernard of Clairvaux, of the first generation of Cistercians and an author read throughout Europe, is represented by seven titles in eight copies (the Slesvig inventory of 1519 has nine titles).⁵⁸ The Danish book lists are evidence of

55 McGuire, *Conflict*, 130.

56 Ibid., 132–134.

57 Madsen, 'Boeger', 125–126.

58 An investigation into the reception of printed works by and attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux in Scandinavia is a desideratum, as also is analysis of the distribution of books by means of trade and individual efforts at promoting the reception of his works; cf. Ulrich Köpf, 'Die Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte Bernhards von Clairvaux', in *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Rezeption und Wirkung im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Wiesbaden 1994), 5–66, here 26–27.

the renaissance of twelfth-century theological writings in the fifteenth century,⁵⁹ a movement that had halted by the 1520s and the Malmö List contained no works by Bernard of Clairvaux. Augustine is also well represented, again with seven titles. Jerome, another father of the church, together with two leading authors of the Reformation period, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Martin Luther, are represented by four titles each. Other authors with more than one title include Flavius Josephus, the classical historian, Gregory I and Thomas Aquinas. The character of the collection is highly religious, with only a very few secular works. A number of titles again attest to the prevailing interest in history. The collection contains three works by Flavius Josephus, the Saxo Grammaticus we have already encountered as one of only two Danish works, and an odd title, the *Gesta pontificum bremensium*, which might have been in manuscript as we know of no printed edition at that date. The majority of legal works are on canon law, with only three titles on civil law. The pedagogical literature has a distinctly scriptural character and includes Jerome's *Index...cum interpretationes nominum hebraicorum* (162), Johannes de Garlandia's *Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpretatio* and two copies of the *Mamotrectus*. Two works address the natural sciences, Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (50) and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale*.

The collection of catechetical, devotional and theological literature as well as Bibles is substantial. None of the titles of catechetical literature, canon law or theology were available in domestic editions, and all these works would therefore have been acquired abroad or from booksellers visiting Denmark. Five of the printed works that can be designated biblical in nature were published after 1506. The three identifiable editions of biographical works were published between 1491 and 1524, in Dijon, Paris and Venice. The printing dates of the catechetical literature span the period from 1481 to 1520, with pre-1500 editions dominant. Among the places of printing are a number of locations from an earlier age of the Scandinavian book trade: Basel, Nuremberg, Strasbourg and Hagenau. Odo of Cheriton's *Flores sermonum* was printed in Paris in 1520, while at least one of the two apparently different copies of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermones super Cantica* might have been printed in Rostock on the southern coast of the Baltic. The identifiable devotional literature dates almost exclusively from the fifteenth century, with editions that could have been produced in Strasbourg, Cologne, Speyer or Memmingen. The edition of the *Laudes beatae Marie virginis* seems to have been published in Hamburg in 1491. If the copy of Guilelmus Peraldus' *Summa* came to Øm as the result of the efforts of a book trader, then it was probably part of the Paris edition of 1512. Half of the ecclesiastical titles were by Martin Luther and

59 Ibid., 54ff.

printed between 1522 and 1525, although we may doubt whether any of them had been acquired by Øm before 1525. Almost all of the works of medieval theologians were printed, and probably also acquired, before 1526. Definitive identification of specific editions is often impossible, but editions printed in Basel and Paris have certainly been included. Although a number of the patristic works were printed in the fifteenth century, the majority were of a later date. The patristic material available to the monastery was apparently insufficient and Abbot Peter borrowed five volumes that contained six manuscript copies of works by Gregory I.⁶⁰ Among the general theological works are a substantial number of sixteenth-century editions, principally from the years shortly before 1525: those by Luther, Rupertus of Deutz, Johannes Bugenhagen and LeFèvre d'Étaples were all published after 1519 (Table 3.8).

With almost 90% of its total content religious literature, the library of the monastery of Øm is the most theologically orientated of all the collections analysed so far. The collection makes evident the interests and serves the needs of a monastic community not principally concerned with academic study. Its character is quite distinct from that of the lecturer's library in Slesvig, the bishop's collection on the island of Fyn or Christiørn Pedersen's bookseller's stock in Malmö. McGuire has commented that this library contained 'too much light, popularized reading matter and very little of the theological Summae', leaving McGuire, and others who have examined the inventory, somewhat discontented.⁶¹ Yet the very existence of the library and the nature and origins of its acquisitions are telling. The books may have been available only to those within the monastery walls, but they tell us not only of Danish monastic book culture, but also of the histories of libraries, the book trade and provenances in Denmark before the Reformation.

Incunabula from the Library of the Benedictine Monastery in Cismar

The largest individual collection of incunabula from a single Danish pre-Reformation library consists of 150 works that once belonged to the Benedictine monastery in Cismar. This collection came into the possession of the Royal Library via the library of the dukes of Gottorf.⁶² The complete collection of incunabula as well as the library as a whole was surely considerably larger than the collection we have today, and unfortunately we know nothing of the sixteenth-century books that would surely also have been part of this library.

60 Part II of the inventory; cf. McGuire, *Conflict*, 129.

61 Ibid., 130.

62 Anna-Therese Grabowsky, *Das Kloster Cismar* (Neumünster 1982). Ulrich Kuder, *Die Bibliothek der Gottorfer Herzöge* (Nordhausen 2008); Madsen, *Katalog*.

TABLE 3.8 *The Øm inventory, the Slesvig inventory, the Malmö List, and Danish book production in comparison.*

Content	Øm		Slesvig		Malmö		Danish	
	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	153	89	133	68	132	67	70	53
Bible	11	7	8	4	2	1	4	3
Biographical	7	4	—	—	5	3	2	2
Catechetical	33	19	31	16	34	17	—	—
Devotional	17	10	10	5	39	20	19	14
Ecclesiastical	6	3	18	9	17	8.5	13	10
Law, canon	9	5	11	6	3	1.5	—	—
Liturgical	7	4	2	1	17	8.5	32	24
Medieval theology	18	10	12	6	2	1	—	—
Patristic theology	20	12	11	6	2	1	—	—
Theology	25	15	30	15	11	5.5	—	—
<i>Secular literature:</i>	19	11	62	33	68	34	62	47
Classical	—	—	12	6	8	4	—	—
History	5	3	10	5	25	12.5	6	5
Humanism	2	1	14	7	9	4.5	2	2
Law, civil	3	2	9	5	6	3	7	5
Pedagogical	7	4	7	4	7	3.5	22	17
Philosophy	—	—	3	2	4	2	—	—
Politics	—	—	1	0.5	2	1	18	14
Popular	—	—	1	0.5	1	0.5	5	4
Sciences	2	1	5	3	6	3	2	2
Total	172	100	195	101	200	101	132	100

The collection contains multiple copies of individual works, which suggests that acquisition could have continued into the sixteenth century.

Authors found in the Cismar collection often also appear in other Danish monastic collections. They include patristic and medieval theological authorities such as Augustine and Gerson (five entries each) and Thomas Aquinas and Gregory I (four entries each). Other authors found more widely include Juan de Torquemada, Vincent of Beauvais and Peter Lombard (four entries each), Bernard of Siena and Jacobus de Voragine (three entries each) and Bernard of Clairvaux (two entries). The monastery and its donors, clerical and lay, looked

beyond south Danish and north German printers to the broader European book market. German printing towns dominate with 131 works, led by Nuremberg (31 books), Cologne (29) and Strasbourg (28). Smaller numbers of works came from printers in Basel (12), Augsburg (9) and Mainz (6). Nineteen books were printed outside Germany, eleven in Italy, five in the Low Countries, and three in France. The earliest printed book is dated 1469. Almost half of the books (74) were produced in the 1470s and thirty-six in the 1480s. Only five books can be dated to the 1490s. Another thirty-four books lack dates of printing but were most probably produced between 1480 and 1500. Only three books were printed in Lübeck and two in Rostock, and none in Denmark itself. The printing market of northeast Germany was, it seems, of little importance to the duchies. Substantial collections of printed books could clearly be assembled despite the limitations of local or regional book production. And a competitive transnational book market was necessary if literary demands were to be met (Table 3.9).

The incunabula from the library of the Benedictine monastery in Cismar are the still impressive remains of a library that must have been even more impressive in its lifetime. In its categories, it is quite similar to the library of the monastery at Øm, with religious literature making up almost 90% of its contents, and a scattering of classical literature, humanistic works and scientific and historical texts. The collection includes four editions of the Bible together with six books that provided insight into scripture, including two editions of Conradus de Alemania's *Concordantiae Biblicorum*. The catechetical literature is quite voluminous, and includes well-known works by Jacobus de Voragine, Bernard of Clairvaux and Johannes Nider, and editions of sermons by Meffret, Johannes Herolt, Leonardus de Utino and Pelbartus de Temeswar. The works of Matthias Farinator, Vincentius Ferrer, Johann Gobi Junior, Johannes de Peckam and Johannes Auerbach are not found in other Danish monastic collections. The presence of so few devotional, ecclesiastical and liturgical books may be explained by survival rates. Among the Cismar incunabula we find the largest accumulation of canon law in any of the collections described in this chapter. At its core are three books by Panormitanus de Tudeschis and Diaz de Montalvo's *Repertorium Panormitani*, reinforced by a number of anonymous publications, a Strasbourg edition of *De contractibus et vitalibus*, as well as two editions each of the *Formulare curiae Romanae* and a *Vocabularius utriusque iuris*. The size of this collection and the realities of survival suggest that certain titles noted here are quite unusual for the rest of Scandinavia. Only one other Scandinavian copy of Azo's *Summa super Codice et institutis* is known, for example, held today in Uppsala University Library. The relatively high number of works on canon law in Cismar may be explained by that monastery's

TABLE 3.9 *Cismar incunabula, the Øm inventory, the Slesvig inventory, the Malmö List, and Danish book production in comparison.*

Content	Cismar		Øm		Slesvig		Malmö		Danish	
	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	131	88	153	89	133	68	132	67	70	53
Bible	10	7	11	7	8	4	2	1	4	3
Biographical	2	1	7	4	—	—	5	3	2	2
Catechetical	36	24	33	19	31	16	34	17	—	—
Devotional	6	4	17	10	10	5	39	20	19	14
Ecclesiastical	3	2	6	3	18	9	17	8.5	13	10
Law, canon	16	11	9	5	11	6	3	1.5	—	—
Liturgical	1	1	7	4	2	1	17	8.5	32	24
Medieval theology	12	8	18	10	12	6	2	1	—	—
Patristic theology	14	9	20	12	11	6	2	1	—	—
Theology	31	21	25	15	30	15	11	5.5	—	—
<i>Secular literature:</i>	19	12	19	11	62	33	68	34	62	47
Classical	3	2	—	—	12	6	8	4	—	—
History	4	2	5	3	10	5	25	12.5	6	5
Humanism	1	1	2	1	14	7	9	4.5	2	2
Law, civil	1	1	3	2	9	5	6	3	7	5
Pedagogical	3	2	7	4	7	4	7	3.5	22	17
Philosophy	2	1	—	—	3	2	4	2	—	—
Politics	—	—	—	—	1	0.5	2	1	18	14
Popular	1	1	—	—	1	0.5	1	0.5	5	4
Sciences	4	2	2	1	5	3	6	3	2	2
Total	150	100	172	100	195	101	200	101	132	100

substantial documented possessions, the interests of the monks or the arbitrary survival of individual items belonging to this library.⁶³ The field of patristic theology revolves around Augustine (five titles), Gregory I (four copies, among them two different editions of the *Moralia in Job*) and two editions of the letters of Jerome. Medieval theology is represented mainly by Thomas Aquinas and three editions of the *Liber sententiarum* by Peter Lombard. The category of religious literature contains a large number of authors, usually with

63 Carsten Fleischhauer, *Kloster Cismar*, 2nd ed. (Munich 2004).

one title per author. Exceptionally, the monastery owned four editions of works by Torquemada.

The collection of secular literature may be small, but it does not lack classical authors. Along with Plutarch, *Vitae virorum illustrium*, the monks had access to the rhetoric of Cicero, works by Horace and Ovid, and the histories of Herodotus and Orosius. Among the philosophical works we find editions of Aristotle and Seneca. The only humanist authors are Petrarch, with his moral text *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and the popular *Facetiae* by Poggio Bracciolini. The categories of pedagogical and scientific literature contain works on the Latin and Greek languages and the art of memory, as well as individual books in the fields of medicine (Bartholomaeus Montagna's *Consilia medica*), astrology (Gerson's *Trilogium astrologiae*), mineralogy (Aristotle's *Lapidarius*) and biblical geography (the anonymous *Prologus Arminensis in mappam Terrae sanctae*).⁶⁴

Analysis of the incunabula from the library of the Benedictines of Cismar reinforces the image of a voluminous and functional monastic book collection. As also in the other institutional book collections discussed in this chapter, secular literature is part of the library, with an interest in classical and humanistic authors evident. When collections differ, the explanation lies in the specific character, history or interests of the institution in question. While the library of the lecturer in Slesvig is strong in ecclesiastical literature and suggests an academic interest in classical and humanistic authors, pedagogical literature and civil law, the libraries in Øm and Cismar display a wealth of catechetical, devotional and theological literature suitable for monastic purposes.

Norway

The kingdom of Norway rapidly declined after its heyday in the fourteenth century and subsequently lost its independence when a member of the Kalmar Union with Denmark and Sweden and, from 1523, junior partner to its southern neighbour Denmark. Norway continued to play an important role in the hanseatic trade, however, and was wealthy enough to be able to import

64 Jakob Bruns, 'Die älteste gedruckte bisher unbekannte Beschreibung von Palästina', *Göttingische Bibliothek der neuesten theologischen Literatur* III, no. 2 (1797): 159–204. Holger Roggelin and Joachim Stüben, 'Orate pro patre Seghebando! Zu Herkunft und Bedeutung der Möllner Wiegendrucke', *Lauenburgische Heimat* n.s. 144 (1996), 40–59.

considerable numbers of religious artefacts from Lübeck.⁶⁵ Domestic craft production could not compete with the workshops in Lübeck in the northern Norwegian market.⁶⁶ Trondheim (then called Nidaros) was the religious and intellectual centre of Norway, well equipped with its cathedral – which included a cathedral chapter and a number of chapels – parish churches and monasteries. Before the Reformation, there were a further four dioceses in Norway – Bergen, Oslo, Stavanger and Hamar – and it is likely that cathedral schools were associated with some or all of their cathedrals. Today, only works from collections in Trondheim and Bergen can be found in Scandinavian book collections, and we know of printed books only from the parishes of Alstahoug, Tronæs and Ørskog.

The picture of Norwegian printed book culture generated by the surviving sources is very blurred,⁶⁷ a problem compounded by a far greater loss of books in fires, including that in Oslo in 1686, and as the result of wilful destruction and neglect than in Denmark or Sweden. The library of the parish church in Vos, transferred to Bergen after the introduction of the Reformation, was destroyed by a fire in 1623. As late as 1804, twelve volumes that once belonged to the parish church of Throndenes still survived, but in 1908, only one was extant, the fourth part of a Latin bible with commentaries by Nicolaus de Lyra that had been printed in Venice in 1481.⁶⁸ The National Archive contains a collection of parchment fragments of medieval books that includes single leaves of printed books, but they have not been catalogued yet.⁶⁹ The 1485 inventory of the monastery library at the Augustine foundation in Konghelle comprises

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- 65 Jan von Bonsdorff has dealt with Norway in particular: Jan von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion und Kunstverbreitung im Ostseeraum des Spätmittelalters* (Helsinki 1993). Bonsdorff, 'Is Art a Barometer of Wealth?.'
- 66 Per Jonas Nordhagen, 'Das Hanse-Problem in der norwegischen Kunstgeschichte: Der Zusammenbruch der Kunstproduktion in Norwegen im Spätmittelalter', *Norwegen und die Hanse – Wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Aspekte im europäischen Vergleich* (Frankfurt am Main 1994), 41–72, here 43, 54.
- 67 Harald Tveterås, *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Norwegen* (Wiesbaden 1992) is one of the later authors who provide neither new knowledge nor any sources for what little information they provide.
- 68 Oscar A. Johnsen, 'Norske geistlige og kirkelige institutioners bogsamlinger i den senere middelalder', *Sproglige og Historiska Afhandlingar viede Sophus Bugges Minde* (Oslo 1908), 73–96, here 81.
- 69 Johnsen, *Norske geistlige*, 75–76. Åslaug Ommundsen, 'From Book to Binding and Back – Medieval Manuscript Fragments in Norway', *Gazette du livre médiéval* (2008), 52–53. If printed books that have left traces in collections of fragments in Norway can be identified, they are regarded as having being acquired abroad; Kurt Erich Schöndorf, 'Der Gebrauch volkssprachlicher Texte in den geistlichen Orden Skandinaviens im Spätmittelalter',

twenty-one mostly liturgical titles, but it is impossible to establish how many of these items were printed works.⁷⁰ According to an inventory dated 1531–1532, the library of the Cistercian monastery on the island of Tautra contained seventy ‘old books’, but no further indication tells whether these works were in print or manuscript.⁷¹ Oscar A. Johnsen estimated that at the end of the Catholic period the library of the cathedral chapter of Trondheim contained about seventy-nine works in some eighty-seven volumes. Among the books that must have been printed rather than in manuscript, we find works by humanists such as Marcilio Ficino, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Niccolo Perotti. Classical texts by Cicero, Pliny and Virgil may well also been in printed form, but this supposition cannot be proved (Table 3.10).⁷²

TABLE 3.10 *Pre-Reformation institutional provenances in Norway.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Mancinellus <i>Carmen de figuris</i>	Deventer	Theodoricus de Borne	1512	Bergen Cathedral Library, 16th c.
Baptista Mantuanus <i>Parthenice secunda de passione virginis Catherinae</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1513	Bergen Cathedral Library, 16th c.
Horatius <i>Ars poetica</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1490?	Bergen Cathedral Library, 16th c. ⁷³

(Continued)

Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien IV: Akten des 4. Nordischen Symposiums (Berlin 1993), 196–220, here 200. Schöndorf refers to the Pfundzollbücher and the fact that during these four years no ship left Lübeck for Norway with books. This argument is not convincing, given not only the arbitrariness of the archival tradition and the lack of sources for all the other years between the invention of printing and the end of the pre-Reformation period, but also our knowledge of Hanseatic trade, including the involvement of England and Flanders with, at least, Bergen in Norway; Erich Hoffmann, ‘Die skandinavischen Reiche und der Zusammenbruch der lübisch-hansischen Ostseepolitik’, in *Die Hanse – Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, ed. Jörgen Bracker (Lübeck 1999), 3: 123–133, here 128.

70 Johnsen, ‘Norske geistliges’, 79.

71 Ibid., 80.

72 Ibid., 90–95.

73 Mattias Tveitane, ‘Bøker og litteratur i Bergen i middelalder og reformasjonstid’, *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 68 (1981), 99–113.

TABLE 3.10 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Horatius <i>Carmina</i>	Strasbourg	Schürer	1517	Bergen Cathedral Library, 16th c.
Despautère <i>De figuris liber</i>	Antwerp	Hillen	1521	Bergen Cathedral Library, 16th c.
Ovidius <i>Epistole heroidum</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1518	Bergen Cathedral Library, 16th c.
Sabellico <i>In natalem diem elegiae</i>	Deventer	Jacobus de Breda	1492	Bergen Cathedral Library, 16th c.
<i>Missale dominicanum</i>	Basel	Wenssler	1488	Bergen diocese, before 1545 ⁷⁴
<i>Missale Fratrum minorum Daniae</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1504	Bergen ⁷⁵
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Breitstad
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Eid on the island of Ytterøy
Gregorius I. <i>Moralia in Job</i>	Cologne	Winters	Unknown	Helgeseter Augustine friars, Trondheim ⁷⁶
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Oppdal parish church
<i>Missale Nidrosiense Biblia latina</i>	Copenhagen Nuremberg	Raeff	1519 1491– 1494	Rennebo Tronaes parish church ⁷⁷
<i>Missale Nidrosiense Biblia latina</i>	Copenhagen Venice	Raeff	1519 1481	Trondheim ⁷⁸ Tronaes parish church
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Vardal

(Continued)

74 In a contemporary binding.

75 A fragment has survived as an archival wrapper and belongs together with leaves in Uppsala University Library and the Royal Library in Copenhagen; Mattias Tveitane, 'Gamle bøker og bokbind fra Bergen: noen tilleggsopplysninger', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 57 (1970), 49–62, here 60–61.

76 Preserved in a contemporary binding.

77 In a contemporary Rostock binding.

78 Preserved in a contemporary Trondheim binding.

TABLE 3.10 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Åmot
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Ørlandet
<i>Graduale Arosiense</i>	Lübeck?		1493?	Norway ⁷⁹
<i>Missale Fratrum minorum</i>	Italy		1472?	Norway ⁸⁰
<i>Missale Lundense?</i>	Paris	Hopyl	1514	Norway ⁸¹
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Norway ⁸²
<i>Missale Upsalense</i>	Basel	Wolff	1513	Norway ⁸³
<i>Missale Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Snell	1484	Norway ⁸⁴
<i>Ordo Baptismi</i> ⁸⁵	Cologne or Nuremberg	Bungart or Anonymous	1505 or 1523	Norway ⁸⁶
<i>Breviarium Nidrosiense</i>	Paris	Kerbriant	1519	Norway
<i>Breviarium Nidrosiense</i>	Paris	Kerbriant	1519	Norway
<i>Breviarium Nidrosiense</i>	Paris	Kerbriant	1519	Norway
<i>Breviarium Nidrosiense</i>	Paris	Kerbriant	1519	Norway
<i>Breviarium Nidrosiense</i>	Paris	Kerbriant	1519	Norway
<i>Breviarium Nidrosiense</i>	Paris	Kerbriant	1519	Norway
<i>Breviarium Nidrosiense</i>	Paris	Kerbriant	1519	Norway
<i>Missale Nidrosiense</i>	Copenhagen	Raeff	1519	Norway

Among the books owned by Norwegian churches and monasteries, liturgical books dominate, many preserved in fragmentary state. The small number of pre-Reformation institutional provenances in Norway may bear witness to the absence of the infrastructures that supported book collections elsewhere.

79 Six leaves survived as archival wrappers in the National Archives of Norway in Oslo; I am grateful to Espen Karlsen for communicating this evidence and information about the following fragments.

80 One leaf preserved as archival wrapper.

81 Two leaves preserved as archival wrappers.

82 Twenty-four leaves preserved as archival wrappers.

83 Three leaves preserved as archival wrappers.

84 Twenty-five leaves preserved as archival wrappers.

85 HPB offers two titles that seem to correspond to the identification given by the National Archives: *Agende in catholicis ecclesijs...et ordo seruandus circa baptisandum*, Cologne: Bungart, 1505 and the *Ordo baptizandi*, Nuremberg, 1523.

86 One leave preserved as archival wrapper.

That lack can perhaps be explained by Norway's dependence on trade with Lübeck, the consequences of the plague of the late fourteenth century and the political decline that followed union with Denmark in 1380.⁸⁷ Jan von Bonsdorff has argued, however, for a more complex explanation of the economic and cultural history of Norway after the plague, noting that pockets of wealth made possible the purchase of cultural goods in Norway, including art and books.⁸⁸ This thesis awaits further exploration, in particular in relation to printed books.

Sweden

The union of the crowns of Sweden and Denmark under Queen Margaret of Denmark in 1397 was followed by constant tension between, on one hand, the Danish crown and its allies in Sweden and, on the other hand, the de facto administrators of the Swedish kingdom ('riksföreståndare' or regents) and their allies. This tension had ramifications for trade, especially in times of war, but the impact was usually contained and short term. The organisation of the church in Sweden was complex but thorough.⁸⁹ The first bishoprics had been established as early as the twelfth century, and very many European religious (monastic, hospital or lay) orders had Swedish houses. At the end of the fifteenth century, Sweden had forty-one monasteries, 1725 parish churches, six cathedrals and chapters, seven cathedral schools and seventeen town schools. After the Reformation, books from most of the monasteries in and around Stockholm were confiscated and incorporated into the royal library, which appears to have been still quite an informal institution at that date. Some books became archival wrappers or were destroyed in other ways, but the remainder were incorporated into the Collegium Regium Stockholmense, founded by King Johan III in 1576.⁹⁰

87 Hoffmann, *Die skandinavischen Reiche*, 128–129.

88 Bonsdorff, 'Is Art a Barometer of Wealth?', 38–39.

89 Kirsi Salonen, 'The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Province of Uppsala 1448–1527', *Suomalaisen tiedeakatemia Toimituksia/Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* 313 (2001), 218–242, gives an excellent overview of the organisation, population, wealth and history of the Swedish dioceses during the period under examination here.

90 Isak Collijn, "'Bibliotheca Collegii Societatis Jesu in Suetia': Några bidrag till kännedom om jesuiternas boksamling på Gråmunkeholmen', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 1 (1914), 151–167.

In the 1590s, parts of the library of the Collegium Regium Stockholmense followed King Sigismund to Poland (where he is known as Zygmunt III). The Polish library, which had been built up by Johan and Sigismund, and a large number of books of Swedish pre-Reformation provenance returned to Sweden in the seventeenth century as war booty. Other books from the royal collection never left Sweden and were incorporated into a royal book collection established on the island of Gråmunkeholmen in Stockholm. The remainder of this library was finally donated by Gustav II Adolf to Uppsala University in 1620–1621.⁹¹ The books considered as Swedish are either recorded to be of Swedish provenance or can be identified as such from clues such as their bindings or shelf mark. The identifications in Table 3.11 rely on Collijn's incunabula catalogue.⁹² Books printed between 1501 and 1525 with Swedish provenances that might have been part of the Sigismund collection have not yet been recorded nor identified.

TABLE 3.11 *The library of King Sigismund: Swedish pre-Reformation provenances.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Albertus Magnus <i>Compendium theologiae veritatis</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1480
Albertus Magnus <i>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</i>	Ulm	Zainer	1478
Alexander Magnus <i>Liber de proeliis</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1486
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Confessionale</i>	Rome	Lauer	1472
Augustinus <i>Confessiones</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1483
Bartholomaeus Anglicus <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1483
Berchorius <i>Dictionarius sive Repertorium morale</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1489
Bernoldus <i>Distinctiones de tempore</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1480
Buccardus Pylades <i>Genealogia deorum</i>	Venice or Brescia	Rubeus?	1500–1508
<i>Casus papales, episcopales et abbatiales</i>	Rome	Silber	1495

(Continued)

91 Claes Annerstedt, *Upsala universitetsbiblioteks historia intill år 1702* (Stockholm 1894), 6f.

92 Isak Collijn, *Katalog der Inkunabeln der Kgl. Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala* (Uppsala 1907), XXVI.

TABLE 3.11 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
<i>Gesta romanorum</i>	Augsburg	Sorg	1487
<i>Gesta romanorum</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1493
Guide do Columna <i>Historia destructionis Trojae</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1486
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Postilla super epistolas et evangelia</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1486
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Expositio super toto psalterio</i>	Strasbourg	Printer of the 1481 'Legenda aurea'	1482
<i>Laudes beatae Mariae virginis</i>	Hamburg	Borchard	1491
Lochmeyer <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Hagenau	Ryman (Gran)	1497
Michael de Dalen <i>Casus breves decretalium Sexti et Clementinarum</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1493
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque iure</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1494
Mollenbecke <i>Tabula in postillas Nicolai de Lyra</i>	Cologne	Koelhoff	1480
Nider <i>Praeceptorium legis sive explanatio decalogi</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1476
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481
Rupertus tuitiensis <i>De victoria verbi dei</i>	Augsburg	Sorg	1487
<i>Syllabarium</i> [Low German]	Germany	Unknown	1480

Swedish Parish Churches and Cathedrals

Swedish provincial laws and the rules of the medieval church required that each parish church possess at least a missal, breviary, psalter and gradual.⁹³ The Church of the Holy Trinity in Uppsala, a parish church located near the cathedral, owned some thirty liturgical books, and even rural parish churches often held many more than four books. Jan Brunius has suggested that parishes churches owned on average between three and eight liturgical

93 Brunius, 'Söckenkyrkornas', 457.

books.⁹⁴ Unfortunately, almost none of these books have survived. With its weight of liturgical works, the list of books once owned by Swedish parish churches closely resembles the parallel list of books owned by Norwegian churches (Table 3.12).

TABLE 3.12 *Books from Swedish parish churches.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
<i>Biblia latina</i>	Strasbourg	Rusch	1481	Malma
<i>Breviarium Arosiense</i>	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	Hubbo, Västmanland
<i>Breviarium dominicanum</i>	Venice	Torresano	1492	Överselö
<i>Breviarium Scarense</i>	Nuremberg	Stuchs	1498	Almby ⁹⁵
<i>Breviarium Strengnense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1495	Filipstad
<i>Breviarium Strengnense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1495	Överselö
<i>Breviarium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1496	Faringe
<i>Circular letter for Uppsala synode 1513–1514</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1513	Håbo-Tibble, Uppland
<i>Graduale Suecicum</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1493	Orsa, Dalarna
<i>Graduale Suecicum</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1493	Oviken
<i>Graduale Suecicum</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1493	Torneå
<i>Horae de domina etc. secundum ecclesiam Upsalensem</i>	Uppsala	Richolff	1525	Österfjärnebo
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Expositio super toto psalterio</i>	Strasbourg	Printer of the 1481 'Legenda aurea'	1482	Bollnäs, Hälsingland
<i>Manuale</i> ⁹⁶	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kumla
<i>Manuale</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kumla
<i>Manuale Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Hög, Gästrikland

(Continued)

94 Brunius, 'De medeltida bokfragmenten', 391.

95 Erik Segelberg, 'Svenskt inkunabelnytt', *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 65 (1965), 258–262, here 260–262.

96 Segelberg, 'Manuala Strengense', 202–203.

TABLE 3.12 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
<i>Manuale Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Oviken
<i>Manuale Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Vendel, Uppland
<i>Missale Magdeburgense</i>	Magdeburg	Brandis	1493	Malung
<i>Missale secundum usum Carmelitarum</i>	Venice	Giunta	1500	Mellösa
<i>Missale Upsalense novum</i>	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	Hjälsta
<i>Missale Upsalense novum</i>	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	Stöde
<i>Missale Upsalense novum</i>	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	Vendel, Uppland
<i>Missale Upsalense novum</i>	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	Västerlövsta, Heby
<i>Missale Upsalense novum</i>	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	Österfärnebo
<i>Peraudi Litterae indulgentiarum contra Turcos</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1489/ 1490	Hillersjö, Uppland
<i>Psalterium</i>	Strasbourg	Rusch	1497– 1499	Skara
<i>Psalterium latinum</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Ekebyborna, Södermanland
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Bollnäs, Hälsingland
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Bred, Uppland
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Funbo
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Harmånger
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Unknown
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Unknown, Hälsingland

(Continued)

TABLE 3.12 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Västerlövsta
<i>Psalterium Upsalense novus</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1510	Barva, Södermanland
<i>Psalterium Upsalense novus</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1510	Hassela, Hälsningland
<i>Psalterium Upsalense novus</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1510	Hjälsta
<i>Psalterium Upsalense novus</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1510	Håbo-Tibble, Uppland
<i>Psalterium Upsalense novus</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1510	Överenhörna, Södermanland
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Halla, Nyköpings län
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Husby-Oppunda
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Hög, Gästrikland
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Orsa
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Skultuna, Västmanland
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Tuna, Uppland
Rimbertinus <i>De deliciis paradisi</i>	Venice	Pencio	1498	Överselö
[unidentified continental liturgical book]	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Lagga, Uppland

I have found forty-eight books from Swedish parish churches that have no individual provenance; we know only – from the books themselves or from archival sources – that they were acquired by the parish. The liturgical nature of the majority of these books is in keeping with the Swedish law on parish book ownership. Only the editions of the Bible, Torquemada and Rimbertinus suggest personal or catechetical ambitions. Most of the books are specifically

Swedish liturgica, commissioned and printed in Sweden or for Swedish dioceses, but we also find foreign books with no apparent ties to Swedish rites. Finland's liturgy was heavily influenced by the Dominican model, and Dominican works, found in significant number in Finland, were of particular relevance. The *Breviarium dominicanum* may have been employed along similar lines in the Swedish context. The large number of Latin psalters printed by Ghotan in Magdeburg also parallels the contemporary situation in Finland. Ghotan sold large parts of this edition to Scandinavia, especially – as far as the preserved provenances tell us – to Sweden and Finland. The Strasbourg psalter from Skara and the copy of Ghotan's Latin psalter from Bollnäs parish church suggest that foreign books could quite easily be adapted to Swedish ritual practice: the annotations in these two works that adapt the texts to the liturgies of Skara and Uppsala are very similar.⁹⁷

The inventory of the library of the Church of the Holy Trinity (*Trefaldighetskyrkan*) in Uppsala drawn up by Jöns Larsson on 31 July 1519 enables a rare encounter with a complete church library.⁹⁸ The inventory identifies only two books in the collection explicitly as printed works. Most of the other books are either old ('gamla') or very old ('synnerligen gamla'), which might imply that they were handwritten, or new ('nya'), which might suggest that they were printed. The archdiocese of Uppsala commissioned the printing of a number of books in the decades before the Reformation. Between 1484 and 1513 five liturgical texts were printed exclusively for Uppsala, *Missale Upsalense* [vetus] in 1483–1484, *Manuale Upsalense* in 1487, *Psalterium Upsalense* in 1487–1492, *Breviarium Upsalense* in 1496 and the *Missale Upsalense* of 1513.⁹⁹ The three new missals noted in the inventory may therefore have been printed works from the editions of 1483–1484 or 1513. The new gradual mentioned may have been a copy of the *Graduale Svecicum* (or rather, a *Graduale Arosiense*) dated about 1493; the liturgical home of this gradual has not been established, but it could certainly be found throughout Sweden, including the archdiocese of Uppsala.¹⁰⁰ The two printed manuals would have belonged to the 1487 edition of the *Manuale Upsalense*. The remaining books

97 Undorf, 'Ett okänt psalterium', 6–7.

98 Kerstin Abukhanfusa, *Stympade böcker: märkvärdiga blad ur svensk bokhistoria* (Stockholm, 2004), 60–61.

99 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 226–237.

100 Copies have been recorded as belonging to the following institutions: National Archives of Sweden (fragments), Lund University library (missing), National Library of Sweden (4 collections of fragments), Orsa parish church (fragment), Uppsala University Library (fragments), Östersund Jämtlands läns bibliotek (fragments), and to an anonymous Swedish collection (fragments).

cannot be identified. These probable identifications suggest that the library contained at least thirty books, of which eight were printed and twenty-two in manuscript. The total number of printed books may have been larger if it included books not specified in the inventory as new or printed. Surely the library of a church so close to Uppsala Cathedral would have been able and willing to acquire the stipulated liturgical books commissioned by the archbishop. The five psalters may therefore have belonged to the 1487 edition of the *Psalterium Upsalense*, which would raise the number of printed books to thirteen. The library of the Church of the Holy Trinity is typical of a Swedish parish church collection in everything but scale. Books owned by Swedish parish churches were largely domestic in character, intended to serve a local need. The predominantly liturgical nature of parish book collections suggests that parishes were not significant customers in the market for foreign books.

A rather different picture emerges from the book collections of the Swedish cathedrals. At the heart of each of the seven dioceses of pre-Reformation Sweden was a cathedral church, the home of the bishop and his chapter. Where they can be reconstructed, the books and collections of the cathedrals have a different character from those of parish churches. Chapter libraries are certainly characterised by liturgical books in greater numbers, but the archbishop or bishop and members of the cathedral chapter were educated clerics, and their responsibilities – administrating the dioceses, supervising the clergy, preaching, for example – required access to other books in addition to liturgical literature. The presence of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermones super cantica canticorum* at the Chapel of St Erik in Uppsala Cathedral is indicative of the need for works that were not simply liturgical (Table 3.13).

TABLE 3.13 *Uppsala Cathedral Library.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	Speyer	Drach	1487–1488
Bernard Claraevallensis <i>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</i>	Mainz	Schöffner	1475
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Sermones super cantica canticorum</i>	Rostock	Fratres Domus Horti Viridis	1481
<i>Biblia latina P. 1–2</i>	Cologne	Goetz	1475
Bonifacius VIII. <i>Liber sextus decretalium</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1486
Bonifacius VIII. <i>Liber sextus decretalium</i>	Lyons	Siber	
<i>Breviarium Lincopense</i>	Nuremberg	Stuchs	1493

(Continued)

TABLE 3.13 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
<i>Breviarium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1496
<i>Breviarium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1496
<i>Breviarium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1496
<i>Breviarium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1496
Ephrem Syrus <i>De compunctione cordis et resurrectione</i>	Freiburg im Breisgau	Kilianus Piscator (Fischer)	1491
Gregorius I. <i>Epistolae</i>	Augsburg	Zainer	
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1483
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Rhetorica divina</i>	Basel	Amerbach	
Hugo de Sancto Caro <i>Postilla super evangelia</i>	Basel	Richel	1482
Iustinianus <i>Codex cum glossa</i>	Lyons	Jean du Pré	1495
Iustinianus <i>Digestium infortiatum cum glossa</i>	Lyons	Siber	1496– 1500
Iustinianus <i>Digestium vetus cum glossa</i>	Lyons	Siber	1496– 1500
Iustinianus <i>Novellae cum glossa</i>	Venice	Jacobus de Rubeis	1477
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Cologne	Zell	1473
Lombardus <i>Perlustratio in libris sententiarum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1491
Lyra <i>Postilla super universia biblia. P. 1</i>	Strasbourg	Printer of the 'Ariminensis'	
Lyra <i>Postilla super universia biblia. P. 2</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1481
Lyra <i>Postilla super universia biblia. P. 2</i>	Strasbourg	Mentelin	
<i>Manuale Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487
<i>Missale Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Snell	1484
<i>Missale Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Snell	1484
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia scholastica</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1485
Reinerius de Pisis <i>Pantheologia s. Summa universae theologiae. P. 2</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1474
Robertus de Caracciolus <i>Opus de poenitentia</i>	Basel	Richel	1475
Seneca <i>Opera philosophica et epistolae</i>	Treviso	Bernardus de Colonia	1478

Today, we know almost nothing of the content of Linköping Cathedral Library before the Reformation.¹⁰¹ The city was, however, the centre of a flourishing cultural world. It would not seem undue to suppose that the cathedral library would have contained a large number of liturgical books, especially those printed exclusively for the diocese, as well as works of theology and canon law. Annotations on the few provenances with connections to Linköping Cathedral indicate that some of these works were loaned to the library by private individuals.¹⁰²

Skara was the oldest of the Swedish dioceses. Again we know very little of the cathedral library before the Reformation, with almost nothing revealed by the surviving books themselves.¹⁰³ The library would have included copies of printed Swedish liturgical works intended for Skara diocese (*Breviarium Scarense*) as well as liturgical works intended for other dioceses. The cathedral library contained works printed by Paul Grijs in Uppsala in the early sixteenth century: Ericus Olai's translation of a psalm, *Psalmen En rikir man*, of 1515, the Swedish translation of Jean Gerson's *Ars moriendi*, *Lärdom huru man skall lära dö*, of 1514, and the *Legenda cardinalis Manfredi* and *Legenda Sancta Anna*, both printed in 1515. Some of its non-Swedish books survived as part of the library of the Banér family until that library was sold at auction in 1876.¹⁰⁴ Some works known to have been part of Skara Cathedral Library and documented as possessions of the Banér family do not appear in the auction catalogue. All in all, we can identify some forty printed works that were part of the pre-Reformation cathedral library in Skara (Table 3.14).¹⁰⁵

A large number of the identified books from the Skara Cathedral Library were printed in the sixteenth century. The presence of a number of Swedish and Low German books may point to works that were owned by private individuals, rather than by the cathedral. On 23 April 1485, Skara Cathedral Library

101 Isak Collijn, *Katalog öfver Linköpings Stifts- och Läroverksbiblioteks inkunabler* (Uppsala 1909).

102 See the books of Clemens Henricus Rytingh, chapter 5 p. 260–266.

103 The incunabula are described in the exhibition catalogue *Från handskrift till inkunabel* (Skara 1983).

104 *Förteckning å böcker...föret tillhörige släkten Banér och förvarade på...Djursholm* [with supplement] (Stockholm 1875). The auction was held on 12 February 1876 and in 1877.

105 The number of works with pre-Reformation provenance might be larger. The older but more important catalogue of the old library in Skara contains a number of pre-Reformation printed works that are missing from the catalogue of 1983 but are still in the library; Wilhelm Olof Luth, *Catalog öfver Skara Kongl. gymnasii bibliothek* (Skara 1830). The provenances of a majority of these books remain to be analysed. Most of the early Reformation prints are today missing from the library.

TABLE 3.14 *Skara Cathedral Library.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Albertus Magnus <i>De mineralibus libri quinque</i>	Augsburg	Grimm & Wirsung	1519
Albertus Magnus <i>Super mulierem fortem</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Alphonsus de Spina <i>Fortalicium fidei contra hostes fidei christianae</i>	Strasbourg or Basel	Mentelin or Richel	1471/1475
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Bartholomaeus <i>Pisanus Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	Venice	Girardengus	1481
Barzizius <i>Introductorium in medicinam</i>	Augsburg	Grimm & Wirsung	1518
Berengarius de Landora <i>Lumen animae, ed. Matthias Farinator</i> ¹⁰⁶	Strasbourg	Printer of the 1481 'Legenda aurea'	1482
Berengarius de Landora <i>Lumen animae, ed. Matthias Farinator</i>	Strasbourg	Printer of the 1481 'Legenda aurea'	1482
Bonaventura <i>Tabula super libros sententiarum</i>	Strasbourg or Venice	Unknown	1474–1479
Brandt <i>Expositiones sive declarationes omnium titulorum juris</i>	Basel	Wolff of Pforzheim	1508
Caesarius Cisterciensis <i>Dialogus miraculorum</i>	Cologne	Zell or Koelhoff	1473–1481
Conradus de Brundelsheim <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Conradus de Brundelsheim <i>Sermones de tempore: 'pars estivalis'</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

(Continued)

¹⁰⁶ Apparently there were 2 copies of this edition in Skara, one of which became part of the Banér library.

TABLE 3.14 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Crantz <i>Oratio funebris</i>	Unknown	Unknown	1504
Ferrerius [Pseudo-Albertus Magnus] <i>Sermones notabiles de tempore et sanctis</i>	Cologne	Koelhoff	1482
Folniseka <i>Opera</i> ¹⁰⁷	Augsburg	Unknown	1515
<i>Formulare instrumentorum</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1504
Gerson <i>Ars moriendi</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1514
<i>Swedish Lärdom huru man skall lära dö</i>			
Glogoviens <i>Introductorium... in tractatum sphaerae materialis</i> Johannes de Sacrabusto	Strasbourg	Unknown	1518
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	Nuremberg	Stuchs	1488
Heimricus <i>Libellus de compositione regulorum pro vasorum mensuratione</i>	Vienna	Alantsee	1518
Holkot <i>Opus super Salomonis</i>	Speyer	Drach	1483
Hugo de Prato Florido <i>Sermones de tempore super evangelia</i>	Zwolle	Pieter van Os	1480
Johannes de Tambaco <i>Consolatione theologiae</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Jordanus de Quedlinburg <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Strasbourg	Grüninger	1484
Justinianus <i>Institutiones imperiales</i>	Lyons	Unknown	1500
<i>Legenda cardinalis Manfredi</i> Swedish Legend of cardinal Manfredus	Uppsala	Grijs	1515

(Continued)

¹⁰⁷ Förteckning å böcker, Quarto 149e.

TABLE 3.14 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
<i>Legenda Scta Anna</i> <i>Swedish Legend of St. Anne</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1515
Leonardus de Utino <i>Quadragesimale aureum</i>	Venice	Renner	1471
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Lyra <i>Biblia cum postillis</i> <i>Nicolai de lyra, cum</i> <i>additionibus Pauli Burgensis</i> <i>et cum replicis Mathiae</i> <i>Dorinck</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1487
Lyra <i>Biblia latina cum</i> <i>postillis Nicolai de Lyra,</i> <i>P. 1–4</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1487
Marchesinus <i>Mammotrectus</i> <i>super bibliam</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Olai <i>Psalmen En rikir man</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1515
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia</i> <i>scholastica</i>	Strasbourg	Unknown	1485
<i>Speygel der Dogede</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485
Turrecremata <i>Expositio super</i> <i>toto psalterio</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum historiale</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Vincentius <i>Oratio ad</i> <i>Fredericum Saxoniae</i> <i>ducem</i> ¹⁰⁸	Unknown	Unknown	1477
Voragine <i>Legenda</i> [<i>Low</i> <i>German</i>] <i>Der Hyllyghen</i> <i>Levent unde Leyden</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1499
Zerbus <i>De cautelis medico</i>	Venice	Christophorus de Pensis	1495

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., Quarto 133c.

officially borrowed a number of books from Gudmundus Benedictus, a member of the cathedral chapter. Some of these books may have been among the six to eight books mentioned in letters from 1551–1552 as having been seized by Svenio Jacobi, then acting bishop, after the death of Erik Svenonis, bishop of Skara from 1544 to 1545.¹⁰⁹

Strängnäs Cathedral Library, the only Swedish cathedral library that has been preserved as an independent institution, contains a large number of printed books dating from the fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries, including much seventeenth-century war booty.¹¹⁰ Some of its contents were of medieval Swedish provenance. According to Collijn, among the more than 150 incunabula in Strängnäs Cathedral Library that lack any indication of their provenance, a substantial number could have belonged to the medieval cathedral library.¹¹¹ Apparently neither the cathedral nor private Swedish book owners seem to have been as eager as foreign institutions to provide the works in their possession with indications of provenance. The following short list is based on preserved institutional provenances only (private provenances will be dealt with in chapter 5) (Table 3.15).

Parts of the older book collection in Västerås Cathedral have been catalogued twice. A complete catalogue was printed in 1640 and published with commentary in 1973, while a catalogue of the incunabula was produced by Collijn in the early twentieth century.¹¹² The collection is a typical Scandinavian theological library that would have supported the range of events in the daily life of a cathedral chapter: the celebration of Mass (two missals), preaching (Herolt), the study of canon law as it concerned cathedral and diocese (Bonifacius and Gratian) and education, either personal or at the cathedral school (Perottus). This collection has its peculiarities, too, such as the only pre-Reformation Scandinavian appearance of two works by Felix Hemmerlin or the impressive holdings of editions of Thomas Aquinas, with eight of

109 Fridolf Ödberg, *Om magister Sven Jacobi, den förste protestantiske biskopen i Skara stift (1530–1544, död 1554)* ([Skövde] 1896), 37, 44.

110 Henrik Aminson, *Bibliotheca templi cathedralis Strengnesensis* (Stockholm 1863). The incunabula have been described by Collijn in an unpublished card catalogue (National Library of Sweden, shelfmark KB Hs U387:29:1–2). An ongoing cataloguing project financed by the Swedish church and led by Ragnhil Lundgren will provide valuable new information, primarily about provenances.

111 *Betänkande och förslag angående läroverks- och landsbibliotek avgivet den 28 februari 1923 av bibliotekssakkunniga* (Uppsala 1924), 176.

112 Petrus Olai, *Bibliotheca sive Catalogus librorum templi & consistorij Cathedralis Arosiae. A. 1640* (Västerås 1640). Åberg, *Västerås*. Isak Collijn, *Katalog öfver Västerås läroverksbiblioteks inkunabler* (Uppsala 1904).

TABLE 3.15 *Strängnäs Cathedral Library.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Aquinas <i>Scriptum super quartum librum sententiarum</i>	Mainz	Schöffler	1469
Augustinus <i>Quinquaginta</i>	Augsburg	Sorg	1475
Bernardus Claravallensis <i>Sermones</i>	Speyer	Drach	1481
Diaz de Montalvo <i>Repertorium</i>	Lyons	Siber	1484
Herp <i>Sermones</i>	Hagenau?	Rynman (Gran)?	1509?
Hieronymus <i>Epistolae et tractatus</i>	Mainz	Schöffler	1470
Hugo de Sancto Caro <i>Postilla super evangelia</i>	Basel	Richel	1482
Jakobus de Voragine <i>Lombardica historia</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1501
Justinus <i>Digestum vetus</i>	Venice	Tortis	1494
<i>Missale Strengnense</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487
Nicolaus de Ausmo <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i>	Venice	Renner & Nicolaus de Francfordia	1474
Panormitanus <i>Lectura super quarto et quinto Decretalium</i>	Rome	Lauer	1475
Panormitanus <i>Lectura super V libris decretalium</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1486
Salis <i>Summa casuum conscientiae</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1488
Valerius Maximus <i>Facta et dicta memorabilia</i>	Mainz	Schöffler	1471

thirty-three titles, or more than 25% of the whole collection. The collection that we can reconstruct had roots in late medieval theology and education and in the needs of the worshipping community that is highly typical, but it was also shaped by individuals who purchased or donated works and by the unpredictability of survival.

Survival, or rather a failure to survive, accounts for the lack of books from Växjö, an episcopal see since the Middle Ages, or even information about those books. The diocese of Kalmar was only created in 1602, and therefore the pre-Reformation books that have been associated with Kalmar Cathedral may have belonged to the church before it became a cathedral and are therefore possibly the remnants of parish or school libraries. Similarly, the church known as 'Stockholm Cathedral' or 'the Great Church' was in fact the parish church of

St Nicholas until 1942. The collection of books in Kalmar Cathedral may have been considerably larger before the repeated attacks on Kalmar, and its medieval books, during the first half of the seventeenth century. An inventory dated 1604 tells of some twenty unidentified incunabula in folio format (Table 3.16).¹¹³

Monasteries

Books were an essential ingredient in the spiritual and religious life of medieval monasteries. All orders did not share, however, the same attitude towards reading material and its ownership. Personal ownership of books was one of the issues on which the conventual and observant branches of the Franciscans,

TABLE 3.16 *Pre-Reformation books in the main church libraries in Kalmar and Stockholm.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Bernardus Parmensis <i>Casus longi Bernardi super decretales</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Carletti <i>Summa angelica de casibus conscientiae</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Ferrerius <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Gratian <i>Liber Decretorum</i> , ed. Bartholomaeus Brixienensis	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Gregorius I. <i>Moralia</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Herp <i>Speculum Aureum</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
<i>Liber Decretalium Epistolarum</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Ludolphus de Saxonia <i>Vita Christi</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Meffret <i>Sermones</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Pelbart of Temeswar <i>Stellarium Coronae Mariae</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
Rainerius de Pisis <i>Pantheologia</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kalmar
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Stockholm
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon. P. 1</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1484	Stockholm
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica P. 1, 2, 4</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1477–1479	Stockholm
Avicenna <i>Canon medicinae</i>	Venice	Bertochus	1489–1490	Stockholm

¹¹³ Betänkande, 295.

founded on the basis of poverty, disagreed. J  rgen Nybo Rasmussen has highlighted practical consequences of this inner-Franciscan conflict about the appeal of books for Franciscan monks in Scandinavia.¹¹⁴ Several other orders had a much more tolerant, even welcoming attitude towards books. The Dominicans and Benedictines were learned, while the Carthusians, devoted to contemplation, allowed for institutional and individual possession of books. Hospitalers such as the Order of the Holy Ghost and houses of Canons Regular would have had particularly practical needs when it came to reading material. Yet despite the close ties between religious orders and books, we have surprisingly little evidence of books and collections that were once part of monastic institutions (Table 3.17).

TABLE 3.17 *Swedish monastic collections.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Ambrosius de Cora <i>Defensorium ordinis heremitaum S. Augustini</i>	Rome	Herolt	Unknown	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon</i>	Basel	Kesler	1491	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Confessionale</i>	Rom	Lauer	1472	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	Speyer	Drach	1487–1488	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	Strasbourg	Gr��ninger	1496	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica P. 4</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1487	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Aquinas <i>Catena aurea</i>	Basel	Wenssler	1476	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Aquinas <i>De veritate catholicae fidei</i>	Venice	Jenson	1480	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Aquinas <i>De veritate catholicae fidei contra</i>	Strasbourg	Reyser	1476	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Aquinas <i>Scriptum in sententiarium</i>	Venice	Jenson	1481	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery

(Continued)

114 Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner*.

TABLE 3.17 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Arcimboldus <i>Litterae indulgentiarum pro ecclesia s. Petri in Roma</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1518	Askeby cistercian nunnery
Astesanus <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	Basel	Richel	1475	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	Mainz	Unknown	1460/1469–1473	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Bartholomaeus de Camerino <i>Litterae indulgentiarum contra Turcos</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1484	Stockholm Franciscan monastery
<i>Biblia</i>	Mainz	Gutenberg	1454	Vadstena Brigittine monastery?
<i>Biblia latina</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1479	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1517	Fogdö cistercian nuns convent
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine Monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine Monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine Monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine Monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine Monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine Monastery
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Vadstena Brigittine Monastery
Bonifacius VIII. <i>Liber sextus decretalium</i>	Venice	Tortis	1496/1497	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery

(Continued)

TABLE 3.17 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
<i>Breviarium</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
<i>Breviarium dominicanum</i>	Venice	Torresano	1492	Strängnäs Dominican monastery
<i>Breviarium Lincopense</i>	Nuremberg	Stuchs	1493	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Busch <i>Speculum exemplorum</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1481	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Cassianus <i>De institutis coenobiorum</i>	Basel	Amerbach	1485	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Conradus de Alemania <i>Concordantie bibliorum</i>	Strasbourg	Mentelin	Unknown	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Conradus de Halberstadt <i>Responsorium curiosorum</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Stockholm Dominican monastery(?)
Duns Scotus <i>In libros sentiarum</i>	Venice	Jenson	1481	Vadstena Brigittine monastery?
Ferrerius <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	Basel	Kesler	1488	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Ferrerius <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1488–1489	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Georgius de Ungaria <i>Tractatus de moribus Turcorum</i>	Rome	Herolt & Riessinger	1483	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Gobius <i>Scala coeli</i>	Lübeck	Brandis	1476	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Postilla super epistolas et evangelia</i>	Speyer	Drach	1481	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Postilla super epistolas et evangelia</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1486	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Henricus de Gorichem <i>Quaestiones in S. Thomam</i>	Esslingen	Fyner	1478	Vadstena Brigittine monastery

(Continued)

TABLE 3.17 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Herolt <i>Sermones de tempore per totum annum</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1484	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli de tempore</i>	Strasbourg	Rusch	Unknown	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli de tempore</i>	Rostock	Fratres Domus Horti Viridis	1476	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Hieronymus <i>Epistolae</i>	Venice	Miscomini	1476	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Hugo de Prato Florido <i>Sermones de tempore super evangelia</i>	Zwolle	Pieter van Os	1480	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Hugo de Sancto Victore <i>De sacramentis</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1485	Stockholm Franciscan monastery
Institoris <i>Tractatus varii</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1496	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Jacobus de Voragine <i>Legenda aurea</i>	Lyons?	Huguetan (Saccon)	1512	Gudsberga Cistercian monastery
Johannes de Bromyard <i>Summa praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Johannes de Tambaco <i>Consolatio theologiae</i>	Strasbourg	Reyser	Unknown	Stockholm Dominican monastery
Johannes de Verena <i>Sermones dormi secure de tempore</i>	Nuremberg	Creussner	1477	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Johannes Viterbiensis <i>De futuris christianorum triumphis contra Turcos</i>	Genova	Causalus	1480	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Jordanus de Quedlinburg <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Strasbourg	Grüninger	1484	Stockholm Franciscan monastery?
<i>Laudes beatae Mariae virginis</i>	Hamburg	Borchard	1491	Sigtuna Dominican monastery

(Continued)

TABLE 3.17 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Leo Magnus <i>Sermones</i>	Basel	Wenssler	1475	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Cologne	Zell	1473	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Lombardus <i>Perlustratio in libris sententiarum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1491	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Lombardus <i>Sentensen, bearb. Bonaventura</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	Unknown	Ny Lödöse (Gothenburg) Franciscan monastery
Lombardus <i>Liber Sententiae</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	Unknown	Varberg Carmelites monastery
<i>Missale Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Snell	1484	Stockholm Franciscan monastery
Nicolaus de Ausmo <i>Supplementum summae Pisanelli</i>	Nuremberg	Sensenschmid & Frisner	1475	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Nicolaus de Gorran <i>Postilla super epistolas Pauli</i>	Cologne	Koelhoff	1478	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Nider <i>Praeceptorium legis sive explanatio decalogi</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1476	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Nider <i>Praeceptorium legis sive expositio decalogi</i>	Cologne	Renchen	1485	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Niger <i>Modus epistolandi</i>	Leipzig	Kachelofen	1495	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
<i>Orationale</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Panormitanus <i>Lectura super libros decretalium</i>	Basel	Amerbach	1487	Stockholm Dominican monastery
Paratus <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	Lübeck	Brandis	Unknown	Nyköping Franciscan monastery

(Continued)

TABLE 3.17 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Paratus <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	Lübeck	Brandis	Unknown	Skänninge Dominican monastery
Pedersen <i>At høre Messe</i>	Paris	Badin	1514	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Pedersen <i>Vor Frue Tider</i>	Paris	Badin	1514	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Pelagius <i>De planctu ecclesiae</i>	Ulm	Zainer	1474	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Pelbartus <i>Sermones</i>	Lyons	Unknown	1514	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia scholastica</i>	Basel	Amerbach	1486	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
<i>Psalterium</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Rampigollis <i>Aurea biblia</i>	Strasbourg	Grüninger	1496	Mariefred Gripsholm Carthusian monastery
Rampigollis <i>Aurea biblia</i>	Ulm	Zainer	1475	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Salis <i>Summa casuum conscientiae</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1488	Linköping Franciscan monastery
<i>Sieben weise Meister</i>	Lübeck	Brandis	1478	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Turrecremata <i>Expositio super psalterio</i>	Rom	Han	1470	Vadstena Brigittine monastery
Turrecremata <i>Expositio super psalterio</i>	Lübeck	Brandis	1476	Vadstena Brigittine monastery

Only a minority of all Swedish monasteries have left evidence of their libraries. We know of only a single work from some institutions: Cistercian monasteries in Askeby¹¹⁵ and in Fogdö¹¹⁶ and the monastery in Gudsberga; the Franciscan

¹¹⁵ Edward Ortwed, *Cistercieordenen og dens klostre i Norden*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen 1933).

¹¹⁶ A copy of an early sixteenth century Nuremberg edition of St Birgitta's revelations that is now in Engelsberg manor house; Per Wästberg, *Resa i tysta rum: okända svenska slottsbibliotek* (Stockholm 2004), 125.

monasteries¹¹⁷ in Linköping, Ny Lödöse¹¹⁸ and Nyköping; and the Dominican monasteries in Sigtuna,¹¹⁹ Skänninge and Strängnäs.¹²⁰ Copies of the Koberger edition of Lombard's *Liber sententiae* are all that remains of the monastic libraries of the Franciscan monastery in western Sweden at Ny Lödöse and the Carmelite monastery in Varberg, then in Denmark.¹²¹ Our knowledge of even the most comprehensive Swedish monastic book collections, those belonging to the Brigittine monastery in Vadstena, the Carthusian monastery of Mariefred,¹²² and the Franciscan and Dominican monastery libraries in Stockholm are very small in comparison to our knowledge of Danish libraries. There are no inventories or catalogues.

The most thorough reconstruction of a Swedish monastic library is that of the Brigittine monastery in Vadstena, but even in this case no archival sources provide a contemporary account of the collection.¹²³ The preserved books include a good number of liturgical works and editions of St Birgitta, but they are outnumbered by homiletic literature and collections of sermons. Some books were not just read: the two works by Christiern Pedersen

117 Henrik Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden: Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities* (Assen 1998).

118 A copy of Lombardus' *Liber sententiae* that was sold at the famous Banér auction of 1876, but was not mentioned in the catalogue.

119 Toni Schmidt, 'Om sigtunabrödernas böcker och böner', *Situne Dei* (1946–1947), 45–82.

120 *Betänkande*, 171–172.

121 Sten G. Lindberg, 'Utflykt till Västerås, Tidö och Fullerö den 26 april 1981', *Biblis* (1981), 122–135, here 131. Erik Montell, 'Två varbergsinkunabler', *Årsbok Varbergs museum* (1969), 119–138.

122 Isak Collijn, 'Kartusianerklostret Mariefred vid Gripsholm och dess bibliotek', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 22 (1935), 147–178.

123 The diary of the monastery mentions books and the library but provides us with little help with regard to the content of this library; Claes Gejrot, *Diarium Vadstenense: The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey. A Critical Edition with an Introduction* (Stockholm 1988). New research on the library has been carried out since 1990 by a number of authors: Monica Hedlund, *Vadstena klostres bibliotek: Ny katalog och ny forskningsmöjlighet* (Stockholm 1990); Roger Andersson, *Predikosamlingar i Vadstena klosterbibliotek* (Uppsala 1994), which includes a list of incunables that were part of the library; Anna Fredriksson, *Att rusta sin borg: förvärv och bibliotekssamling i Vadstena kloster 1374–1595 – en studie av resterna* (Borås 1996); Anna Fredriksson, *Vadstena klostres bibliotek: en analys av förvärv och bestånd* (Uppsala 1997), which concentrates on the brothers' library only. A small number of special studies cover the literary and book-related activities of both individual members of the monastery and whole groups; see, for example, Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, 'Der Vadstena-Mönch Johannes Suenonis d.J. als "Glossator"', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 74 (1987), 78–82. A most important consideration of the literary qualities of the sisters is provided by Ruth Rajamaa, *Systrarnas verksamhet, undervisning och uppfostran i Vadstena kloster 1384–1595* (Stockholm 1992).

and the anonymous *Sieben weise Meister* were used in Vadstena as the originals for translations;¹²⁴ those originals have now been lost, but the translations have survived. Multiple copies of a number of authors – Antonius Florentinus, Ferrerius, Guilelmus Parisiensis, Herolt, Torquemada – were held in monasteries in Mariefred and Vadstena. In light of the fragmentary state of the evidence, little more can be said about monastic libraries in Sweden.

Finland

Most of modern Finland had been conquered by Swedish knights during the crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Swedish king became duke of Finland and the country was regarded as an integral part of Sweden. Although most of its foreign trade had to pass through Stockholm, sea traffic also ran directly between Finland and its Baltic neighbours to the south, mainly with Reval, but also with Lübeck. The adaption to Latin Catholic book culture was smooth.¹²⁵ The geography of the country and the concentration of its inhabitants in the south and west led Finland to be treated as a single political and religious unit, with its centre at Åbo (Finnish: Turku). Around 1500, there were 106 parish churches within the bishopric of Turku/Åbo, the principal town in Finland. We know of three schools in Turku/Åbo before the Reformation, one of which was associated with the cathedral. Even before the diocese was established, there was already a Dominican monastery in Turku/Åbo, and as a result the Dominican liturgy had a marked influence upon the liturgy of Finland. We know of only five monasteries in Finland before the Reformation.

Turku/Åbo was pillaged by a Danish fleet under Otto Rud in August 1509 and the literary bloodshed included an unknown number of valuable books that had originally been acquired during a period of lively cultural exchange in which the Finnish bishops had participated.¹²⁶ Even after the incursions of Duke Carl in his struggle with King Sigismund, seventeenth-century inventories of Turku/

124 Hedström, *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker*, 332. Schöndorf, 'Der Gebrauch volkssprachlicher Texte', 212–213.

125 Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen, 'Finland before Finland: The Cultural Assimilation of Europe's Northern Frontier', in *Europe's Northern Frontier: Perspectives on Finland's Western Identity*, ed. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen (Jyväskylä 1999), 18–49.

126 J. Vallinkoski, *The History of the University Library at Turku*. Vol. 1: 1640–1722 (Helsinki 1948), 50.

Åbo Cathedral still mention small and unspecific groups of 'old monk books', six in 1633 and nine in 1651.¹²⁷ Medieval books do not always appear in later inventories.¹²⁸ The library of the academy (in effect a university) in Turku/Åbo, which housed the largest collection of pre-Reformation books, was destroyed in a fire in 1827; the catalogue of 1746, which survived, does not reveal the presence of any pre-Reformation literature of Finnish, or more broadly, Scandinavian provenance.¹²⁹ There were no pre-Reformation prints among the very small number of books that survived the fire, which devastated the academy.¹³⁰ Few pre-Reformation books survived outside Turku/Åbo, and those that did were very often in a fragmentary state. The collections of other religious institutions suffered heavily, too. Fire destroyed the library of Viborg/Viipuri Cathedral.¹³¹ The remnants of the libraries of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Viborg/Viipuri and those of the Franciscans in Ruma and Kökar can be found in the collection of medieval fragments now in the National Library in Helsinki.¹³² Drawn up only weeks before the fire of 1628, the inventory of the Brigittine monastery in Nådendal/Naantali listed a modest number of books that might have survived from the medieval library: a *Missale Romanum*, two copies of 'bartholomaeus libri cantus latini' (perhaps an antiphony), one Latin *Officium Missae* and two Roman breviaries. The copy of the *Psalterium* printed by Bartholomaeus Ghotan in Lübeck in 1488 and now in the possession of the National Board of Antiquities does not appear in this inventory.¹³³ Works of pre-Reformation provenance have also disappeared in modern times. The copy of the *Breviarium Strengnense* of 1495 that belonged to Finnish collector Elias Brenner (1647–1717) has either been

127 Ibid., 50–51. Holger Nohrström, *Borgå gymnasiebibliotek och dess föregångare bland Finlands läroverksbibliotek: ett bidrag till Finlands biblioteks- och kulturhistoria* (Helsinki 1927), 22.

128 Vallinkoski, *History*, 63–64.

129 This manuscript is now in the National Library of Sweden, signature Ms KB U104; Vallinkoski, *History*, 14–37.

130 *Förteckning öfver de Kejsarl. Universitets Bibliotheket i Åbo tillhörande Böcker, hvilka blifvit undan lågorna räddade, vid det Universitets-Huset, jemte större delen af Staden, genom våld d. 4. och 5. Sept. 1827 förstördes*, copy in the University and National Library Helsinki.

131 Vallinkoski, *History*, 55.

132 Ibid., 56, 66–70.

133 Ibid., 58–59. Johanna Lilja, Kerttu Itkonen *Libri rari et cari: vanhan kirjallisuuden kokoelma-alueella/Katalog över Museiverkets samling av äldre litteratur/Catalogue of the Collection of Antiquarian Literature of the National Board of Antiquities* (Helsinki 1996).

destroyed or is no longer accessible.¹³⁴ But new discoveries are still possible even today. In 1984, students at Helsinki university discovered a breviary printed in Nuremberg in 1485 in the archive of Vammala parish church. According to the parish accounts, it had been acquired as early as 1487 and had been in the possession of the parish ever since.¹³⁵ Table 3.18 contains all books that we can prove to have belonged to named Finnish parish churches or monasteries.

What, then, is left today of these not-insignificant institutional book collections? The surviving liturgical books have mainly been preserved in small parish churches, predominantly in the southernmost parts of the country. Parish churches and their book collections were a constant of Finnish pre-Reformation book culture, or at least that part of it that is still accessible today. Also characteristic is that works found in pre-Reformation Finland were overwhelmingly liturgical, accompanied only by an odd copy of a *Donatus* and a letter of indulgence. Many of the books that have survived were not intended specifically for the Finnish market. As noted, the Finnish liturgy was heavily influenced by the Dominican liturgy, which explains the occurrence of a number of Dominican breviaries. This relationship also explains the acquisition of Dominican breviaries and missals regardless of edition and place of origin. Copies of a *Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum* come from Venice, Paris and Nuremberg, and we also find Wenssler's edition of a *Missale dominicanum*. Koberger probably exported a larger number of his *Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum* of 1485 than have survived today. The *Missale Aboense* had been produced specifically for the Turku/Åbo diocese, which explains the presence of so many copies on the list. The diocese did not commission other liturgical books, which created room for the importation of further foreign editions, such as the *Psalterium* produced in 1485 in Lübeck by Bartholomaeus Ghotan. Eight copies of this *Psalterium* have survived as fragments, and Uskela parish church alone owned three copies. Ghotan supplied Finnish churches and monasteries with copies of other editions of the psalter as well. Ikali parish church possessed a copy of his Magdeburg edition of 1481 together with an unidentified edition. The Brigittine convent in Nådendal/Naantali had a copy of the 1488 edition. The Swedish book market was of great importance for Finland. The *Donatus* mentioned above was printed in Uppsala and the letter of indulgence may have been printed in Stockholm. Loppi parish church

134 Ilkka Taitto, 'Breviarium Strengnense 1495: Nydefinition av fragmentet HUB Ink. 66', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Bibliotekshistoria* 86, no. 1 (2002), 78–82.

135 Esko Häkli, 'Ett nytt bokinstitut blir till?', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Bibliotekshistoria* 86, no. 1 (2002), 120–122.

TABLE 3.18 *Pre-Reformation institutional provenances in Finland.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Year	Provenance
<i>Biblia latina</i>	Strasbourg	Rusch	1470– 1473	Lempäälä parish church
<i>Breviarium Arosiense</i>	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	Loppi parish church
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Venice	Jenson et socii	1481	Hollola parish church
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Hollola parish church
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Ilmajoki parish church
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Paris	Petit	1505	Kangasala parish church
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Loppi parish church
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Vammala parish church
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Vesilahti parish church
<i>Breviarium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1496	Loppi parish church
<i>Donatus minor cum regulis puerorum</i>	Uppsala	Grijs	1515	Akas parish church
<i>Litterae indulgen- tiarum contra Turcos</i>	Lübeck or Stockholm?	Ghotan	1485	Salo parish church
<i>Manuale Aboense</i>	Halberstadt	Stuchs	1522	Lojo parish church
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Hämeenkyrön chapel
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Kangasala parish church
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Marttila parish church
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Nagu parish church

(Continued)

TABLE 3.18 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Year	Provenance
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Piikiön chapel
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Tammelan parish church
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Uskela parish church
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Virmo parish church
<i>Missale dominicanum</i>	Basel	Wenssler	1488	Janakkala parish church
<i>Missale Hafniense</i>	Mainz	Schöffner	1484	Turku/Åbo All Saints Chapell/ Cathedral Library
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	Nådendal/ Naantali parish church
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	Piiklio parish church
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	Raisio parish church
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck?	Ghotan	1488	Salo parish church
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	Uskela parish church
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	Uskela parish church
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	Uskela parish church
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	Vammala parish church
<i>Psalterium latinum</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ikali parish church

(Continued)

TABLE 3.18 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Year	Provenance
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Ikali parish church
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Nådendal/ Naantali Brigittine convent

owned both a *Breviarium Arosiense* printed in Basel in 1513 and a *Breviarium Upsalense* printed in Stockholm in 1496.

We know little of the size of the parish churches that appear as book owners, including whether there were chapels that required their own liturgical books. We do know, however, that parish churches not infrequently possessed multiple copies of single works. Hollola church owned two editions of the Dominican breviary; Ikali church possessed two copies of the psalter; and Loppi church had copies of three different breviaries. Three copies of Ghotan's 1485 psalter can be traced back to Uskela church. Other churches seem to have acquired single copies of each of the required liturgical books wherever they could.¹³⁶ Kangasal church had a copy of the *Missale Aboense* and Petit's 1505 Parisian edition of the Dominican breviary. Vammala church owned copies of Koberger's Dominican breviary of 1485 and Ghotan's psalter produced the same year. Besides these books that belonged to Finnish parish churches or monasteries, we find in Finnish archives and libraries quite a large number of fragments of pre-Reformation printed books without specified provenance (Table 3.19). But whenever we know that these fragments were used as archival wrappers, we can be quite sure that these wrappers were taken by the royal administration from books that were in possession of Finnish parish churches or monasteries; a parallel process, although on a much larger scale, took place in Sweden also.

A substantial number of works of Finnish pre-Reformation provenance cannot be assigned to a specific location. Most of the objects in question have survived only as fragments, and a few are known from literary sources alone. There is reason to assume that many of these items were part of collections belonging to unidentified parish churches. There are copies or fragments of

136 Brunius, 'Sockenkyrkornas liturgiska böcker', 457.

TABLE 3.19 *Unspecified Finnish provenances in author/title order.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Annotation
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica P. 1</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1478	Archival wrappers
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i> ¹³⁷	Mainz	Printer of the 'Catholicon'	1460/1469	Archival wrappers
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	Mainz	Printer of the 'Catholicon'	1460/1469	Archival wrappers
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i> ¹³⁸	Venice	Scotus (Locatellus)	1495	
Bartholomaeus de Camerino <i>Litterae indulgentiarum contra Turcos</i> ¹³⁹	Lübeck or Stockholm?	Ghotan	1485	
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Archival wrappers
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1492	Part of binding
Bonifacius VIII <i>Liber sextus Decretalium</i> ¹⁴⁰	Mainz	Fust & Schöffner	1465	Archival wrappers
<i>Breviarium Arosiense</i> ¹⁴¹	Basel	Wolff von Pforzheim	1513	
<i>Breviarium fratrum praedicatorum</i> ¹⁴²	Venice	Jenson (Torresanus)	1481	

(Continued)

137 Esko Häkli, ed., *Boken i Finland: utställning i Nationalmuseet i anledning av bokens jubileumsår* (Helsinki 1988), 166.

138 Vallinkoski, *History*, 59. Lilja, *Kerttu Itkonen Libri*.

139 This letter of indulgence was found inside the covers of a psalter, probably the copy printed in 1488 by Ghotan in Lübeck that is now in the National Library of Finland; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 46.

140 Häkli, ed., *Boken i Finland*, 166.

141 This copy of the *Breviarium Arosiense* for use in Swedish parish churches contained at the start the part of the *Psalterium feriatum* (ID 6500) that was specially adapted to Finnish requirements; it should therefore be regarded as a Finnish copy, even though it lacks a positive Finnish provenance; Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender*, 18.

142 The first documented sale was in Finland in 1563, so this book may have survived the Reformation; Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender*, 58.

TABLE 3.19 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Annotation
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Fragment
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	Fragment
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	
<i>Breviarium fratrum Praedicatorum</i> ¹⁴³	Nuremberg	Koberger	1485	
<i>Breviarium Strengnense</i> ¹⁴⁴	Stockholm	Fabri	1495	Fragments
<i>Breviarium Strengnense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1495	
<i>Breviarium Strengnense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1495	
<i>Clemens V. Constitutiones</i>	Mainz	Schöffner	1476	Archival wrappers
<i>Gerson De modo audiensi</i>	Nuremberg	Creussner	1478	
<i>Graduale Suecicum</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1493	Fragments
<i>Graduale Suecicum</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1493	Fragments
<i>Lyra Moralia in Job</i>	Cologne	Koelhoff	1478	Archival wrappers
<i>Manuale Aboense</i>	Halberstadt	Stuchs	1522	Archival wrappers
<i>Manuale Aboense</i>	Halberstadt	Stuchs	1522	Archival wrappers
<i>Manuale Aboense</i>	Halberstadt	Stuchs	1522	Archival wrappers
<i>Manuale Aboense</i>	Halberstadt	Stuchs	1522	Archival wrappers
<i>Manuale Aboense</i>	Halberstadt	Stuchs	1522	Archival wrappers

(Continued)

143 According to Malin, this copy once belonged to the National Library of Sweden; *ibid.*, 59.

144 Taitto, *Breviarium Strengnense*.

TABLE 3.19 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Annotation
Mayno de Mayneri <i>Dialogus creaturarum optime moralizatus</i>	Stockholm	Snell	1483	
<i>Missale Aboense</i> ¹⁴⁵	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i> ¹⁴⁶	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i> ¹⁴⁷	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	Archival wrappers
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Aboense</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale dominicanum</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Missale Romanum</i>	Lyons	Sacon	1500	Archival wrappers
<i>Missale Strengnense</i> ¹⁴⁸	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Archival wrappers
<i>Missale Strengnense</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Archival wrappers
<i>Missale Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Snell	1484	Archival wrappers
<i>Missale Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Snell	1484	Archival wrappers
Plutarchus <i>Vitae illustrium virorum sive Parallelae</i>	Strasbourg	Rusch	1470–1471	Archival wrappers (Continued)

145 R. Dahlberg, 'Några förvärf af Ghotan-tryck till Helsingfors universitetsbibliotek', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 4 (1917), 204–205.

146 The binding of this copy strongly resembles that of the other five complete copies in the National Library of Finland.

147 Vallinkoski, *History*, 59. Lilja, *Kerttu Itkonen Libri*.

148 This is probably the copy described by Taitto, *Breviarium Strengnense*.

TABLE 3.19 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Annotation
<i>Psalterium</i> ¹⁴⁹	Mainz	Fust & Schöffer	1457	Archival wrappers
<i>Psalterium</i>	Lübeck	Ghotan	1485	
<i>Psalterium feriatum</i>	Unknown	Unknown	16th c.	
<i>Psalterium latinum</i> ¹⁵⁰	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Psalterium latinum</i> ¹⁵¹	Lübeck	Ghotan	1488	
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Fragment
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Fragment
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Fragment
<i>Psalterium latinum cum canticis</i>	Magdeburg	Ghotan	1481	Archival wrappers
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Fragments
<i>Psalterium Upsalense vetus</i>	Stockholm	Ghotan	1487	Fragment
Rainerius de Pisis	Nuremberg	Koberger	1477	Archival wrappers
<i>Pantheologiae P. I–II</i>				
Rolevinck <i>Fasciculus temporum</i>	Venice	Ratdolt	1481	
Sixtus IV. <i>Bulla</i> ¹⁵²	Lübeck	Ghotan	1484	
Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment

Dominican breviaries that range from a second copy of Jenson's 1481 edition and another six copies of Koberger's edition of 1485 to one copy of Ghotan's *Missale dominicanum* of 1488. There are more copies of the two liturgical books printed for Finland, the *Missale Aboense* of 1488 (12 copies) and the *Manuale*

¹⁴⁹ Häkli, ed., *Boken i Finland*, 166.

¹⁵⁰ Dahlberg, *Några förvärf*.

¹⁵¹ Häkli, ed., 'Boken i Finland', 166.

¹⁵² Collijn found this defective copy hidden inside the covers of the *Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis*, the register of the diocese of Turku/Åbo, then in the National Archives of Sweden. Since then the work seems to have vanished; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 44. Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 3598. Esko Häkli, *Bartholomeus*

Aboense of 1522 (5 copies). Other theological literature, in addition to the liturgical books, evidently included Balbus' *Catholicon* (3 copies), the revelations of St Birgitta (2 copies) and works of canon law. The connection to Swedish printers and the spread of liturgica produced for Swedish dioceses emerges clearly from the list, which contains copies or fragments of three copies of the *Breviarium Strengnense* of 1495, as well as two copies each of four Swedish liturgica, the *Graduale Suecicum* of 1493, the *Missale Strengnense* of 1487, and the first editions of the *Missale Upsalense* of 1484, and the 1487 *Psalterium Upsalense*. The *Psalterium feriatum* listed here was not originally part of Wolff von Pforzheim's *Breviarium Arosiense*,¹⁵³ identified by the Finnish church historian Aarno Malin, it had been inserted at the beginning of the breviary.¹⁵⁴ It is not unthinkable that it was printed by Wolff von Pforzheim, the printer of the *Beviarium Arosiense*, with the possibility in mind that he might sell in Finland part of the edition that he had been commissioned to produce on behalf of the Swedish diocese of Västerås.

The preserved Finnish provenances confirm the importance of printer and bookseller Ghotan for the early book market in northeast Scandinavian. If we set to one side the Finnish and Swedish works – the latest of the latter is the *Manuale Aboense* of 1522 – and a scatterings of later Italian and French works, we see that other regions primarily supplied Finland with books during the 1480s and early 1490s. As was also the case in Sweden, a marked share of these imported works were early Mainz books: the psalter of 1457 and the edition of Bonifacius VIII, *Liber sextus Decretalium* of 1465, both published by Fust & Schöffer, plus two copies of the anonymously printed *Catholicon* dated 1460 or not before 1469.¹⁵⁵ More important still was Koberger in Nuremberg, with six new copies of the 1485 breviary, and works by Rainerius de Pisis and Antoninus Florentinus. Both Snel (Mayno de Mayneri's *Dialogus creaturarum* and the first edition of the *Missale Upsalense*) and Ghotan (*Missale Strengnense* and the first edition of the *Psalterium Upsalense*) seem to have sold in Finland copies of works they had printed in Sweden. The three copies of the *Breviarium Strengnense* are products of the shop of Johannes and Anna Fabri. Again, the occurrence of so many liturgical books for Swedish dioceses is an indication of the applicability of foreign liturgica in Finland.

Ghotan: Suomen ensimmäisen kirjan painaja [Bartholomäus Ghotan: der Drucker des ersten Buchs für Finnland] (Helsinki 1991).

153 Malin identified the psalter as a *Breviarium fratrum praedicatorum*, but I have been unable to verify this title in VD16.

154 Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender*, 18.

155 A significant number of early Mainz prints have also been found in Uppsala University Library but are missing from Copenhagen University Library; see chapter 4.

The collections that once were held by Finnish churches and monasteries have disappeared almost completely. We are left with fragments, both of the physical books and of the evidence of provenance. We can detect, however, that European printer-publishers of liturgical works found a market in Finland, where they might sell not just single copies but also substantial parts of certain editions. Thanks to a note in the acquisition book of Vammala parish for 1487, we know that Koberger's 1485 edition of the Dominican breviary was available in Finland within two years of its printing. Finland was no more distant for European publishers than Sweden: it also took a copy of Husner's *Legenda aurea sanctorum* printed in 1476 two years to reach its customer in Stockholm. The notion of periphery is constructed through many means, not the least of which is imagination. We can know that for the book trade, a small parish church in Finland and a monastery in Stockholm could be equally distant, even when we do not know much of either trade procedures in general or the specifics of the delivery of individual books. If Lübeck, the most important export trade port on the Baltic, was the jumping-off point, it made little difference whether the goal was Stockholm or Turku/Åbo. Finland provides us with good reason to recognise that ideas of the peripheral must be understood in terms of a complex web of distance, accessibility, population size, wealth and intellectual-literary engagement.

Book Collectors and Collections

Universities and Schools

One of the most persistent theories about book acquisition in Scandinavia is that most books with pre-Reformation provenance were privately acquired by students during their studies or travels abroad. The number of Scandinavian students identified as having studied abroad in the decades before the Reformation is indeed impressive. Nils Hybel records at least 1649 Danish students at German universities during the years 1451 to 1535.¹ According to Ellen Jørgensen, 2016 Danish, 644 Swedish and 183 Norwegian students enrolled at German universities in the early modern period.² Tore Frängsmyr estimated that at least 65 Swedish students were inscribed each year at foreign, mostly German, universities during the fifteenth century,³ which would give a figure of at least 800 students over the course of the second half of the fifteenth century, all of whom would have been potential buyers of printed books. Students may well have bought books during their years of study and returned home with their purchases, although provenance marks do not provide much evidence that this was the case. We also do not know how many books made the journey to Scandinavia with a returning student. Certainly, that number was insufficient to still the hunger of the educated academics and clerics or feed the needs of the cathedrals, religious orders and Latin schools. The very existence of schools and universities in Scandinavia in the pre-Reformation period indicates that a variety of literature must have been available to students and pupils, which in turn suggests the existence of an infrastructure comprising printers, booksellers and book collections.

This chapter looks first at books known to have been in the possession of Scandinavian schools, and in some cases of individual teachers and professors. The few Latin schools in Scandinavia could usually be found in the vicinity of cathedrals, although there were schools in other towns as well. We know of eight cathedral and ten Latin schools in Denmark before the Reformation. The corresponding figures for the rest of Scandinavia are Norway, five cathedral

1 Nils Hybel, *The Danish Resources c. 1000–1550: Growth and Recession* (Leiden and Boston 2007), 109.

2 Jørgensen, 'Nogle Bemaerkninger'.

3 Tore Frängsmyr, *Svensk idéhistoria: Bildning och vetenskap under tusen år*. Vol. 1: 1000–1809 (Stockholm 2000), 33.

and no Latin schools; Sweden, six cathedral and twelve Latin schools; and Finland, one cathedral and three Latin schools. These schools do not appear to have held large collections of books. Learning was largely by rote, although even then, pupils needed books. Scandinavian printers became involved in the production of educational literature suitable for teaching and learning Latin. The project to which Hans Urne, dean at Odense and Roskilde cathedrals, devoted a large sum of money was a. o. the production of 200 schoolbooks, to be distributed among poor students in Roskilde. The demand for educational literature grew steadily. A good number of titles were exported to Denmark from Paris, Cologne, Leipzig and Rostock. Monastery book collections also bear witness to this demand for pedagogical literature. The remnants of a Benedictine schoolbook collection are preserved in Næstved, an unusual situation as usually such printed works were consumed very quickly and have therefore seldom survived. The extant school works from Denmark, Norway and Sweden suggest that more substantial titles had much better chance of survival than a basic *Donatus*, *Remigius* or *Alexander*, three typical classical student works (Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1 *Books belonging to Scandinavian pre-Reformation schools.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Kanutus <i>Expositiones circa ledes Jutiae</i>	Ribe	Brandis	1504	Aalborg cathedral school, Denmark
Pedersen <i>Epistler og Evangelier</i>	Leipzig	Lotter	1518	Aarhus cathedral school, Denmark
Pedersen <i>Epistler og Evangelier</i>	Paris	Badius	1515	Horsens school, Denmark
<i>Sjaellandske Lov</i>	Copenhagen	Govert van Ghemen	1505	Odense cathedral school, Denmark
Ambrosius Calepinus <i>Dictionarius</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ribe cathedral school, Denmark
Saxo <i>Historia Danica</i>	Paris	Badius	1514	Sorø school, Denmark
<i>Sjaellandske Lov</i>	Copenhagen	Govert van Ghemen	1505	Sorø school, Denmark
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1484	Stockholm cathedral school, Sweden

(Continued)

TABLE 4.1 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1477–1479	Stockholm cathedral school, Sweden
Avicenna <i>Canon medicinae</i>	Venice	Bertochus	1489–1490	Stockholm cathedral school, Sweden
Valerius Maximus <i>Facta et dicta memorabilia</i>	Mainz	Schöffner	1471	Trondheim Latin school, Norway
<i>Breviarium Upsalense</i>	Stockholm	Fabri	1496	Uppsala cathedral school, Sweden
Saxo <i>Historia Danica</i>	Paris	Badius	1514	Viborg cathedral school, Denmark

Although we have a general sense of what was likely found in school libraries in Scandinavia, we still know too little of the titles themselves and the history of their acquisition. A few references tell of schoolbooks that are now lost. The predecessor of what is now the cathedral school of Oslo most probably possessed a small number of printed books, none of which survived the Reformation and the fire of 1686.⁴ The Diurnal bequeathed by Hans Urne in 1503 to the anonymous ‘Skolemester’ who was the master of the Latin school in Odense is now lost. According to its title page, a small lexigraphic compilation of Latin verbs together with mnemonic verses composed and printed by Paul Grijs in Uppsala in 1519 was assembled from the books at the cathedral school in Uppsala by its schoolmaster, Magnus Ingemari.⁵ Although the title page witnesses to the existence of that library and hints at its contents, nothing of the collection exists today; the last surviving book from that library, a Latin work in folio and written or printed in ‘monks’ style’ seems to have been destroyed in a fire in 1702.

4 Ernst Bjerke, *Bibliotheca Scholae Osloensis: Oslo Katedralskoles gamle bibliotek* (Oslo 2002), 10–20. Ernst Bjerke, ‘Noen bemerkinger om stattholder Christian Rantzaus bokgave til Oslo katedralskole: Rester av Arild Huitfeldts og Christopher Ulfeldts bibliotekerin’, *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Bibliotekshistoria* 86, no. 1 (2002), 15–29, here 15.

5 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 266–268; Sixten Samuelsson, *Högre allmänna läroverket i Uppsala: en gammal skolas öden från 1200-talet till våra dagar* (Uppsala 1952), 28–29.

Magnus Ingemari himself owned at least four books that have survived (Table 4.2).⁶ The books could have been acquired while Ingemari was studying on the continent, and they suggest an interest in Aristotle that may have come in handy when Ingemari was preparing lessons at the school.

A fuller picture, both more extensive and more detailed, is available when we turn to the books, or the information about those books, that were in the libraries of the two Scandinavian universities in the decades before the Reformation. The Swedish university in Uppsala was the first university to be founded in Scandinavia, in 1477, preceding by only two years the Danish university in Copenhagen. The foundation of these institutions should not be understood as an attempt to overcome a geographical or intellectual marginality, but rather as the logical consequences of intellectual ties to the rest of Europe and the expansion of a European-wide university infrastructure.⁷ Teachers at the Scandinavian universities had usually acquired on the European continent not just their academic standing but also a number of books (Table 4.3).

This list contains academic and pedagogical works as well as devotional and ecclesiastical literature. All these books have in common, however, that we may be quite certain that many of them might have been acquired outside Scandinavia. Brynolf Gerlaksson, bishop in Skara, would surely have come into possession of his two Low German works and one Latin book during his

TABLE 4.2 *Books belonging to Magnus Ingemari, head of Uppsala cathedral school.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Lambertus de Monte <i>Copulata super libros de anima Aristotelis</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1494
Lambertus de Monte <i>Copulata super octo libros physicorum Aristotelis</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1493
Lambertus de Monte <i>Positiones circa librorum physicorum et de anima Aristotelis</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1494
Versor <i>Quaestiones super octo libros physicorum Aristotelis</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1489

6 Ingemari was dean at Västerås Cathedral, too, which explains why all four titles can be found there: Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, nos. 2741, 2745, 3240, 3986.

7 Sörlin, *De lärddas republik*, 80.

TABLE 4.3 *Books probably acquired by Danish and Swedish academics abroad.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance	Acquisition
Birgitta Sunte <i>Birgitten openbaringe</i> [Low German]	Lübeck	Ghetelen	1496	Brynolf Gerlaksson, Skara	Rostock?
<i>Evangelien unde Epistolen Plenarium</i> [Low German]	Lübeck	Ghetelen	1492	Brynolf Gerlaksson, Skara	Rostock?
Tambaco <i>Consolatio theologiae</i>	Strasbourg	Reyser	1478	Brynolf Gerlaksson, Skara	Rostock
Aristoteles <i>Copulata novae logicae</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1489	Gustaf Trolle, Linköping	Cologne
Chrysoloras <i>Erotemata grammatica liber purae graecus</i>	Paris	Gourmont	1507	Gustaf Trolle, Linköping	Cologne
Jordanus de Quedlinburg <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Strasbourg	Grüninger	1484	Haquinus Jacobi, Skara	Erfurt
Jodocus Erfordensis <i>Vocabularius iuris utriusque</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1490	Nicolaus Canuti, Lund	Wittenberg or Cologne 1505–1507
Minuccius <i>Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli</i>	Venice	Paganinus de Paganinis	1498/1500	Nicolaus Canuti, Lund	Wittenberg or Cologne 1505–1507

(Continued)

TABLE 4.3 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance	Acquisition
Saxoferrato <i>Consilia quaestiones et tractatus cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani</i>	Venice	Tortis	1495	Nicolaus Canuti, Lund	Wittenberg or Cologne 1505–1507
Saxoferrato <i>Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni P. 1</i>	Venice	Tortis	1499	Nicolaus Canuti, Lund	Wittenberg or Cologne 1505–1507
Saxoferrato <i>Super prima parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni P. 2</i>	Venice	Tortis	1499	Nicolaus Canuti, Lund	Wittenberg or Cologne 1505–1507
Werner von Schussenried <i>Modus legendi abbrevia- turas = Tractatus plurimi iuris (et al.)</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1490	Nicolaus Canuti, Lund	Wittenberg or Cologne 1505–1507
Anglicus <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1492	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Rostock 1493
Anwykyll <i>Compendium totius gram- maticae (Partes I–IV)</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1492/1493	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Paris?

(Continued)

TABLE 4.3 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance	Acquisition
<i>Biblia</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1487	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Rostock
Conradus de Alemania <i>Responsorium curiosorum, sive Mensa philosophica</i>	Lübeck	Brandis	1476	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Rostock?
Ludolphus de Luco <i>Flores grammaticae sive Florista cum commento</i>	Basel	Amerbach?	Unknown	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Paris?
Philippus <i>Supplementum chronicarum</i>	Venice	Rizus	1492/1493	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Rostock 1493
<i>Regulae de figuratis constructionibus grammaticis</i>	Copenhagen	Govert van Ghemen	1493	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Copenhagen
<i>Regulae grammaticales antiquorum</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1490	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Paris?
Versor <i>Super Donato, sive Resolutio octo partium</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1490	Severinus Pauli, Denmark	Paris?
<i>Ars notariatus</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?
<i>Concordantiae minores biblie</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1508	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?

(Continued)

TABLE 4.3 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance	Acquisition
<i>Epitome theologicae veritatis</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1503	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?
Lescherius <i>Rhetorica divina (Rhetorica pro conficiendis epistolis acommodata)</i>	Delft	Snellaert	1496	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?
<i>Letter of indulgence</i>	Rostock?	Unknown	1502	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?
Lombardus <i>Textus sententia- rum cum conclusionibus Henrici Gorichem</i>	Basel	Kesler	1507	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?
<i>Lyra Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra, P. 1–4</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1487	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?
<i>Peraudi Letter of indulgence</i>	Rostock?	Unknown	1502	Sveno Jacobi, Skara	Rostock 1508?

studies in Rostock.⁸ Gustaf Trolle received a master's degree in Cologne in 1511, before returning to Sweden for a successful career that reached its pinnacle when he became archbishop in Uppsala; his books may therefore have been acquired in Cologne. His pride in his academic achievements, which included some proficiency in Greek, may be evident in his decision to write his name in

8 Per Hierta, 'Den äldsta skandinaviska vapenpärstämpeln', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 11 (1924), 64–67.

Greek letters in his copy of Chrysoloras.⁹ Haquinus Jacobi, dean at Skara Cathedral, was inscribed as a student at the university in Erfurt in 1482. Sveno Jacobi, also dean at Skara Cathedral, attended Rostock University around 1508. Assembled together in volumes with contemporary Rostock bindings – the clasps show Jacobi's ex libris, 'Sweno Iacobi Canonicus Scarensis'¹⁰ – are a variety of titles that include the Bible, works of theology and law in both larger and smaller formats, texts on rhetoric and two letters of indulgence.

Nicolaus Canuti, a dean at Lund Cathedral, studied in both Wittenberg and Cologne between 1505 and 1507. The six books identified as having belonged to Canuti date from the 1490s; he also owned an unidentified, and apparently now-lost, collection of eight books on canon law that had been printed between 1501 and 1505.¹¹ Severinus Pauli from Töllöse, a Danish monk who was a member of Carmelite foundations in Aarhus and Helsingør, bought several books on the continent. His acquisitions provide a picture of a man on the move across northern and western Europe. The journey started in Copenhagen, where he acquired a copy of Govert van Ghemen's edition of a number of small texts on Latin grammar, starting with the *Regulae de figuratis constructionibus grammaticism* printed in 1493. In Rostock later that same year, he acquired two books on behalf of the convent in Helsingør, *De proprietatibus rerum* and the *Supplementum chronicarum*. His copy of the Latin Bible printed by Koberger in 1487 is now in Würzburg University Library,¹² while a work printed in Lübeck, Coradus de Alemania's *Mensa philosophica*, ended up in the AnnMary Brown Memorial Library at Brown University in the United States. Finally, he seems to have reached the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, where today a tract volume can be identified as having belonged to Pauli; it consists of the aforementioned *Regulae* bound together with four other treatises on Latin grammar.¹³

Individual donations were made to Copenhagen University Library, although information about these donations is meagre. Peder Albertsen, vice-rector of the university, made two donations of an unknown number of books: the first, made in 1482, consisted of 'a smaller collection' and the

9 Carl Magnus Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek och ex-libris*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Stockholm 1906), 27.

10 Collijn, *Svenska boksamlingar* 4:104–105.

11 Callmer, *Samlingar*, 50. Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 36.

12 I am grateful to Angelika Pabel, Department of Manuscripts and Old Prints, Würzburg University Library, for this information, by email, 17 September 2008.

13 The *Mensa philosophica* is Goff C-854, the tract volume is GW 2265. My thanks to Paul Needham, Scheide Library, Princeton University Library, who kindly notified me of the existence of these copies, by email, 17 September 2008.

second was ‘a larger collection, containing twenty-four books of mostly legal and medical content’.¹⁴ The catalogue of Copenhagen University Library from 1603 contains the only likely trace of this latter donation, namely, a copy of the *Summa de poenitentia* by Pope Innocent IV printed the year of the donation by Govert van Ghemen in Copenhagen.¹⁵ The books given by Per Pedersen Trollers in 1521 to the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen could have been available to the university as well. The donation contained four unidentified books.¹⁶

A certain Jacobus (Borre?), who seems to have received a doctorate from Copenhagen University or at least lectured there sometime between 1500 and 1525, was the owner of the four books in Table 4.4.

We are rarely able to determine exactly who bought books abroad and when. Sveno Jacobi’s ex libris clasp in combination with the identification of place and date provided by the book bindings is a rare find. Additional information of this kind adds detail to the circumstances of the acquisition of individual books, but of greatest significance for this study is that these works, like others produced on the printing presses of continental Europe, found their way to Scandinavia, where they all took up a place within Scandinavian pre-Reformation book culture.

TABLE 4.4 *Books belonging to Jacobus (Borre?).*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Accursius <i>Casus longi super Digesto novo</i>	Lyons	Siber	1490–1493
Iustinianus <i>Corpus juris civilis Digestum novum</i>	Venice	Andrea Calabrebsis	1491
Iustinianus <i>Corpus juris civilis Digestum vetus</i>	Venice	Torresanus	1491
Tuscius <i>Casus longi super Digesto vetere</i>	Lyons	Siber	1490–1493

14 Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 34.

15 Nielsen, *Vetus Bibliotheca*, 68 no. 328.

16 Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 34.

Uppsala University Library

The teachers at the university in Uppsala were also canons of the archdiocese of Uppsala and members of the cathedral chapter. From the time of the foundation of the university, the cathedral library served also as the university library.¹⁷ Canons of the diocese were supposed to study canon law for three years, which explains the strong presence of books of canon law in the inventory of the cathedral library drawn up in 1751. The students were to have their own copies of required texts, with the library intended as an additional resource for teachers and students.¹⁸ Accordingly, the inventory of 1751 notes that the library contained duplicate copies that included between two and four different copies and editions of texts in several disciplines, not only canon law but also theology and philosophy. The cathedral library evidently served all faculties and members of the university.¹⁹ The catalogue of 1751, the only surviving older catalogue of the cathedral/university library, is of a relatively late date and was taken after two centuries of neglect and loss that had begun at the time of the Reformation.²⁰ The catalogue contains 217 entries describing 167 pre- and post-Reformation printed books and manuscripts. Some entries describe tract volumes that contain up to six different works, while other titles spread over up to four subsequent entries. The cataloguer made evident effort to record the editions of the works he was listing, and although a number of works remain unidentified, in general, his identifications seem accurate. Bibliographical duplicates, that is, several copies of a title from the same edition, are few. Table 4.5 lists all cases of multiple copies.

None of the entries in the inventory of 1751, drawn up by Jacob Quensel, includes information on provenance that could tell us how, when and by whom a copy originally was acquired or when it was incorporated into the cathedral library. We can assume that booksellers offered both single and multiple copies of some texts. The university apparently followed a deliberate policy of acquiring multiple editions of many of the works required by professors, canons and students. We will probably never know how many copies were disposed of over the course of the centuries, but among the printed works that survived

17 Tönnes Kleberg, *Uppsala domkyrka* (Uppsala 1982), 32, 40–41.

18 Tönnes Kleberg, 'Domkyrkobiblioteket', in his *Uppsala domkyrka* (Uppsala 1982), 205–214, here 210–211.

19 Kleberg, *Domkyrkobiblioteket*, 211.

20 Quensel, *Catalogus librorum*.

TABLE 4.5 *Uppsala University Library: works in multiple copies.*

Author/title	Edition 1	Edition 2	Edition 3	Edition 4	Edition 5
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon</i>	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1484 (Quensel 201–202)	Basel: Kesler, 1491 (Quensel 203–204)	Basel: Kesler, 1491 (Quensel 205–206)		
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	Venice: Jenson, 1477–1480 (Quensel 108)	Speyer: Drach, 1487–1488 (Quensel 105–107)	Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1496 (Quensel 101–104)		
Aquinas <i>Summa theologiae</i>	Mainz: Schöffer, 1467 (Quensel 75)	Mainz: Schöffer, 1471 (Quensel 74)	Venice: Jenson, 1477 (Quensel 72)	Venice: Antonius de Strata, 1484 (Quensel 73)	
Augustinus <i>De civitate Dei</i>	Mainz: Schöffer, 1473 (Quensel 38)	Basel: Amerbach, 1489 (Quensel 39a)			
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	Strasbourg: Husner, 1482 (Quensel 214)	Venice: Liechtenstein, 1483 (Quensel 215)			
Bartholomaeus Brixienis <i>Casus decretorum</i>	Basel: Kesler, 1489 (Quensel 150)	Basel: Kesler, 1489 (Quensel 151a)			
Bernardus Parmensis <i>Casus longi super... decretalium Biblia latina</i>	Strasbourg: Husner, 1488 (Quensel 162a)	Strasbourg: Husner, 1488 (Quensel 178b)	5 unidentifi- able editions (Quensel 3–17)		
Bonifacius VIII <i>Liber sextus Decretalium</i>	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1478 (Quensel 1)	Basel: Amerbach, 1481 (Quensel 2)	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1486 (Quensel 139)	Lyons: Siber, 1495–1500 (Quensel 136)	Lyons: Fradin, 1511 (Quensel 140)

(Continued)

TABLE 4.5 (Continued)

Author/title	Edition 1	Edition 2	Edition 3	Edition 4	Edition 5
Calderinus <i>Concordantia</i>	Speyer: Drach, 1481 (Quensel 175a)	Lübeck: Snel or Brandis, 1481 (Quensel 179b)			
Duranti <i>Speculum judiciale</i>	Rome: Lauer & Pflugel, 1474 (Quensel 165–166)	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1486 (Quensel 167a + b)			
Gerson <i>Opera</i>	Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1488 (Quensel 90–91)	Strasbourg: Knobloch, 1514 (Quensel 92)			
Gratianus <i>Decretum</i>	Mainz: Schöffler, 1472 (Quensel 128)	Basel: Richel, 1476 (Quensel 129)	Venice: Jenson, 1477 (Quensel 130)		
Gregorius I <i>Epistola</i>	Augsburg: Zainer, 1474–1476 (Quensel 44)	Augsburg: Zainer, 1474–1476 (Quensel 45[A])	Venice: Soardus, 1504 (Quensel 45[B])		
Gregorius IX <i>Decretales</i>	Venice: Herbort for Jenson, 1481 (Quensel 131)	Unidentifiable edition (Quensel 132)	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1496 (Quensel 133)	Lyons: Fradin, 1511 (Quensel 134)	
Herolt <i>Sermones Discipuli</i>	Deventer: Paffraet, 1480/1485 (Quensel 110)	Strasbourg: Rusch, 1478 (Quensel 111–112)	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1482 (Quensel 113[B])	Strasbourg: Husner, 1483 (Quensel 113[A])	
Herp <i>Speculum aureum</i>	Mainz: Schöffler, 1474 (Quensel 120[A])	Unidentifiable edition (Quensel 120[B])			
Holkot <i>Super sapientiam Salomonis</i>	Speyer: Drach, 1483 (Quensel 81a)	Speyer: Drach, 1483 (Quensel 82b)			

(Continued)

TABLE 4.5 (Continued)

Author/title	Edition 1	Edition 2	Edition 3	Edition 4	Edition 5
Hugo de Sancto <i>Caro Postilla super evangelia</i>	Basel: Richel, 1482 (Quensel 58–60)	Basel: Richel, 1482 (Quensel 61a)	Basel: Richel, 1482 (Quensel 62b)		
Iustinianus <i>Institutiones</i>	Mainz: Schöffler, 1476 (Quensel 141)	Venice: Ruberus, 1476 (Quensel 142)	Lyons: Wenssler, 1496–1497 (Quensel 147b)		
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Basel: Solidi, 1474 (Quensel 118)	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1478 (Quensel 119)			
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones Quadragesimales</i>	Cologne: Winters, 1475 (Quensel 116)	Speyer: Drach, 1479 (Quensel 117)			
Ludolphus de Saxonia <i>Vita Christi</i>	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1478 (Quensel 78[A])	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1478 (Quensel 79b)	Strasbourg: printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum' (Quensel 80)	Paris: Rembolt, 1509 (Quensel 78[B])	
Marchesinus <i>Mammotrectus</i>	Cologne: Koelhoff, 1479 (Quensel 109[A])	Venice: Jenson, 1479 (Quensel 109[B])			
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas</i>	unidentifiable edition (Quensel 177)	Louvain: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 1488 (Quensel 178a)	Cologne: Koelhoff, 1493 (Quensel 179a)		
Nicolaus de Ausmo <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i>	Nuremberg: Sensenschmidt & Frisner, 1475 (Quensel 152)	Nuremberg: Sensenschmidt & Frisner, 1475 (Quensel 153[B])			

(Continued)

TABLE 4.5 (Continued)

Author/title	Edition 1	Edition 2	Edition 3	Edition 4	Edition 5
Nicolaus de Lyra <i>Postilla super totam Bibliam</i>	Strasbourg: Mentelin, 1472 (Quensel 94)	Strasbourg: Reyser, 1474–1477 (Quensel 95)	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1481 (Quensel 96)		
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Lectura super... Decretalium</i>	Venice: Jenson, 1477–1478 (Quensel 159)	Venice: Johannes de Colonia, 1479–1480 (Quensel 156)	Basel: Amerbach, 1487–1488 (Quensel 155)	unidentifiable edition (Quensel 157–158)	
Rainerius de Pisis <i>Pantheologia</i>	Nuremberg; Koberger, 1474 (Quensel 85a)	Nuremberg: Koberger, 1474 (Quensel 86b)	Basel: Ruppel, 1477 (Quensel 84)		
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum naturale</i>	Strasbourg, Nuremburg or Basel; Koberger or Amerbach, 1481 (Quensel 63–64a)	Strasbourg, Nuremburg or Basel; Koberger or Amerbach, 1481 (Quensel 65b)			

(and have been listed in Table 4.6), were, as Quensel noted, seven copies of the Bible and up to five copies of scholarly works, sometimes as multiple copies of one edition, sometimes in different editions.

More than three quarters of the collection consists of religious literature, and a number of the works listed as secular could also qualify for one of the categories of religious literature. The comparison of this academic collection with the monastic collections discussed in chapter 3 is useful. Uppsala University Library did not hold in large number the more practically orientated religious works – often devotional, ecclesiastical and liturgical texts – that were so often to be found in monastery collections. Its strength is law, with more than 30% of the collection (51 copies) spread over all categories of legal literature. Forty-six works concern general, patristic or medieval theology. The evidence of the catalogue shows that the university in Uppsala trained future administrators of the church and guardians of the church's legal rights, not curators of the soul. By the eighteenth century at least, it lacked not only the

TABLE 4.6 *Uppsala University Library in content-based order.*

Author/title	Copies	Content
<i>Biblia latina</i>	7	Bible
Calderinus <i>Concordantia</i>	2	Bible
Hugo de Sancto Caro <i>Postilla super evangelia</i>	3	Bible
Lombardus <i>Glossa magistralis Psalterii</i>	1	Bible
Marchesinus <i>Mammotrectus</i>	2	Bible
Hieronymus <i>Vitae patrum</i>	1	Biographical
Plutarchus <i>Vitae illustrium virorum</i>	1	Biographical
Angelus de Clavasio <i>Summa angelica de casibus</i>	1	Catechetical
Berchorius <i>Liber Bibliae moralis</i>	1	Catechetical
Berchorius <i>Repertorium morale</i>	1	Catechetical
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	1	Catechetical
Bonventura <i>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Caracciolus <i>Sermones quadragesimales</i>	1	Catechetical
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	1	Catechetical
Herolt <i>Sermones Discipuli</i>	4	Catechetical
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	2	Catechetical
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones Quadragesimales</i>	2	Catechetical
Nicolaus de Blony <i>Sermones sive Viridarius</i>	1	Catechetical
Salis <i>Summa casuum conscientiae</i>	1	Catechetical
Aristoteles <i>Opera</i>	1	Classical
Duranti <i>Rationale divinatorum officiorum</i>	1	Devotional
Ludolphus de Saxonia <i>Vita Christi</i>	4	Devotional
Turrecremata <i>Meditationes</i>	1	Devotional
Innocentius VIII <i>Bulla Catholice fidei defensionem</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Weigel <i>Clavicula indulgentialis</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon</i>	3	History
Dionysius de Burgo <i>Declaratio Valerii Maximi</i>	1	History
Livius <i>Historiae Romanae decades</i>	1	History
<i>Rudimentum novitiorum</i>	1	History
Valerius Maximus <i>Dictorum & Tractorum memorabilium Libri IX</i>	1	History
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas</i>	3	Law
Petrus de Monte <i>Repertorium utriusque juris</i>	1	Law
<i>Vocabularius juris utriusque</i>	1	Law
Andreae <i>Super arboribus consanguinitatis</i>	1	Law, canon

(Continued)

TABLE 4.6 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Azo <i>Summa super Codice</i>	1	Law, canon
Bartholomaeus Brixiensis <i>Casus decretorum</i>	2	Law, canon
Bernardus Parmensis <i>Casus longi super...decretalium</i>	2	Law, canon
Bertachinus <i>Repertorium iuris utriusque</i>	1	Law, canon
Bonaventura <i>Libri et tractatus</i>	1	Law, canon
Bonifacius VIII. <i>Liber sextus Decretalium</i>	5	Law, canon
Butrio <i>Super primo libro Decretalium</i>	1	Law, canon
Castellione <i>Allegationes</i>	1	Law, canon
Diaz de Montalvo <i>Repertorium...super Nicolaum de Tudeschis</i>	1	Law, canon
Duranti <i>Speculum judiciale</i>	2	Law, canon
<i>Formulare advocatorum et procuratorum Romanae Curiae</i>	1	Law, canon
Gratianus <i>Decretum</i>	3	Law, canon
Gregorius IX. <i>Decretales</i>	4	Law, canon
Johannes de Anania <i>Commentaria super...Decretalium</i>	1	Law, canon
Johannes de Imola <i>In Clementinas opus</i>	1	Law, canon
<i>Margarita Deretalium</i>	1	Law, canon
Martinus Polonus <i>Margarita decreti</i>	1	Law, canon
Meckenlocher <i>Casus in terminis...decretalium</i>	1	Law, canon
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Disceptationes</i>	1	Law, canon
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Glossae Clementinae</i>	1	Law, canon
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Lectura super...Decretalium</i>	4	Law, canon
Iustinianus <i>Codex Repetitiae Praelectionis Libri IX</i>	1	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Digestum Infortiatum</i>	1	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Institutiones</i>	3	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Novellae constitutiones</i>	1	Law, civil
<i>Pandectae juris</i>	1	Law, civil
Tuscius <i>Casus longi super Codice</i>	1	Law, civil
<i>Missale Dominum Ultramontanorum</i>	1	Liturgical
<i>Missale Upsalense</i>	1	Liturgical
Alexander de Hales <i>Summa universae theologiae</i>	1	Medieval theology
Alliaco <i>Quaestiones super libros Sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Alvernus <i>Opera</i>	1	Medieval theology

(Continued)

TABLE 4.6 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Alvernus <i>Rhetorica divina</i>	1	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Scriptum in quartum librum sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Summa theologiae</i>	4	Medieval theology
Capreolus <i>Quaestiones in libros Sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Duns Scotus <i>In quattuor libros Sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Lombardus <i>Sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Petrus Comester <i>Historia scholastica</i>	1	Medieval theology
Rainerius de Pisis <i>Pantheologia</i>	3	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Catena aurea</i>	1	Patristic theology
Augustinus <i>De trinitate</i>	1	Patristic theology
Cyprianus <i>Epistolae</i>	1	Patristic theology
Ephrem Syrus <i>Sermones</i>	1	Patristic theology
Gregorius I. <i>Epistolae</i>	3	Patristic theology
Gregorius <i>Moralia in Job</i>	1	Patristic theology
Hieronymus <i>Epistolae</i>	1	Patristic theology
Albertanus Brixiensis <i>Tractatus de arte loquendi et tacendi</i>	1	Pedagogical theology
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	2	Pedagogical theology
Johannes de Sancto Geminiano <i>De Exemplis & Similitudinibus rerum Libris X</i>	1	Pedagogical theology
<i>Speculum exemplorum</i>	1	Pedagogical theology
Valla <i>Elegantiae linguae latinae</i>	1	Pedagogical theology
Aquinas <i>Opuscula Philosophica</i>	1	Philosophy
Aristoteles <i>Ethica</i>	1	Philosophy
Aristoteles <i>Logica nova Copulata</i>	1	Philosophy
Augustinus <i>De civitate Dei</i>	2	Philosophy
Boethius <i>De consolatione philosophiae</i>	1	Philosophy
Cicero <i>De officiis</i>	1	Philosophy
Gerardus de Harderwyck <i>Commentum...Petri Hispani</i>	1	Philosophy
Aquinas <i>Commentum in...Physicorum Aristotelis</i>	1	Sciences
Strabo <i>Geographia</i>	1	Sciences
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum naturale</i>	2	Sciences
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	3	Theology
Gerson <i>Opera</i>	2	Theology
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>De sacramentis</i>	1	Theology

(Continued)

TABLE 4.6 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>De universo</i>	1	Theology
Herp <i>Speculum aureum</i>	2	Theology
Holkot <i>Super sapientiam Salomonis</i>	2	Theology
Jacobus de Clusa <i>De veritate</i>	1	Theology
Nicolaus de Ausmo <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i>	2	Theology
Nicolaus de Lyra <i>Postilla super totam Bibliam</i>	3	Theology
Nider <i>Praeceptorium divinae legis</i>	1	Theology
Paulus de Sancta Maria <i>Scrutinium Scripturarum</i>	1	Theology
Petrus de Bergamo <i>Tabula operum Thomae Aquinatis</i>	1	Theology
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Opuscula</i>	1	Theology

missals, breviaries, manuals, graduals and psalters necessary for daily worship, but also the ecclesiastical literature, circular letters and statutes that had been produced by the archdiocese.

A few books recorded by Quensel in 1751 as belonging to the university library were not in the library itself at the time he drew up his list, for they had been transferred to the cathedral library in Västerås and the Royal Library in Stockholm. Quensel seems to have found information on these transactions in Uppsala, quoting among others Celsius' dissertation on the history of Uppsala University Library when he includes in the catalogue the copy of Nicolaus de Ausmo, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae*, printed in Nuremberg by Sensenschmidt & Frisner in 1475, that was in the Royal Library in 1751.²¹ Of the six books Quensel recorded as the property of Västerås Cathedral Library in the middle of the eighteenth century, the only extant work is Marchesinus, *Mammotrectus*, published by Jenson in Venice in 1479.²²

The establishment of the university had led to a growing demand for books. The remnants of the library suggest an acquisition of books during the first two

21 Olof Celsius, *Bibliothecae Upsaliensis historia* (Uppsala 1745), 29; translated and annotated in Olof Celsius, *Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks historia* (Stockholm 1971). The copy recorded as a possession of the Royal Library has been lost.

22 Quensel, *Catalogus librorum*, no 109[B]. Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 2551.

decades of the university's existence that led to a substantial expansion of the existing cathedral collection. Almost 85% of all books consists of literature printed in the fifteenth century, with a particular emphasis on the years immediately following the establishment of the university. Perhaps there was little interest in acquiring additional books in later years. For a book historian, the acquisition history of Uppsala cathedral and university library is particularly fascinating, for it provides unique witness to the development of the early European book trade with Sweden. No evidence suggests that any of these books were private acquisitions made abroad, and therefore we have good reason to assume that this library was assembled with the help of representatives of continental publishers and local and regional printers/bookbinders/booksellers. The earliest works from Schöffer in Mainz are a copy of his 1467 edition of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, Jerome's *Epistolae* printed in 1470 and a second edition of the *Summa*, from 1471. The latest of the nine Schöffer books in Uppsala is a copy of Paulus de Sancta Maria's *Scrutinium Scripturarum* of 1478. Twenty-one works, about 13%, were printed in Strasbourg; they include six books produced by Rusch, Mentelin and Reyser between 1469 and 1478, with Husner the dominant Strasbourg printer in the 1480s. Augsburg is represented by three works printed by Zainer between 1473 and 1476. Works from Basel (21 copies, about 13%) and Nuremberg (25 copies, 15%) date from 1474 and later. The dominant figure here is Koberger in Nuremberg, who probably sent to Uppsala not only works he had printed himself but also, later in his career, a significant number of the works that had been printed in Basel and Venice. With twenty-four titles (more than 14%, spread over the years 1470 to 1504), Venice is the second most important printing town in this collection. The presence of these Venetian editions in Uppsala is in accord with our knowledge of the presence of Venetian printing in the broader European context, for almost half of the Uppsala editions were produced by Jenson or his associates. Other printing towns and printer-publishers responsible for books in Uppsala University Library are not as strongly represented in this collection. From Rome come copies of three editions from 1473 to 1474. There are no more than nine or ten works produced in Cologne, covering the years 1475 to 1493. The three Dutch books were printed around 1480.²³ Two Louvain editions date from the 1480s. French books from Lyons and Paris began to arrive at the end of the fifteenth century and very soon made up the majority of the books dated before 1517. The Koberger company could have been involved in the export of

23 This date corresponds with the appearance of Dutch books all over Scandinavia, especially in Sweden. The Dutch *Dialogus moralisatus* of 1482 was the model for the first book printed in Sweden, in 1483.

books from Lyons, while the presence of the Parisian works corresponds with the arrival and subsequent dominance of Parisian printers in the Danish book market at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Copenhagen University Library

The university in Copenhagen was a product of the same intellectual and political trends as the Swedish university in Uppsala.²⁴ But the Danish university took root in neither the principal religious centre in Denmark (Lund, the seat of the archbishop of Lund) nor the principal commercial centre (Malmö), but in the town that would grow to be the political heart of the country. Whether this location influenced the development of the university library collection is hard to determine. Certainly, unlike in Uppsala, the university was an entirely fresh foundation without direct links to an older ecclesiastical foundation. A catalogue drawn up in 1603 provides us with a strong sense of how Copenhagen University Library might have looked at the end of the pre-Reformation period,²⁵ and has been invaluable for scholars investigating the earliest history of the library.²⁶ The catalogue records a total of 718 books.

24 Harald Ilse, 'Universitetets biblioteker till 1728', in *Københavns universitet 1479–1979*. Vol. 4: *Guds – Bygninger – Biblioteker* (Copenhagen 1980), 289–364.

25 Copenhagen Rigsarkivet [National Archives], signature KU 16.07.01. This catalogue has been edited and published as Nielsen, *Vetus Bibliotheca*.

26 Although the catalogue is significant for our understanding of Denmark's academic and book history, the quality of the published edition is somewhat disappointing in terms of both its editorial principles and the preparatory work. The theological supplement to the original source is part of the main catalogue, but the legal supplement was printed separately (Nielsen, *Vetus Bibliotheca*, 13). Nielsen refers to another contemporary catalogue (National Archives, signature AM 900,4°), drawn up in connection with the transfer of the university library to Holy Trinity Church sometime after 1603. Although he notes that he has checked details in the edited catalogue against this second catalogue, he does not document this process. References such as '11575' that can be found in his edition go unexplained and may hide further titles. Additionally, parts of the edited catalogue, especially the two supplements, differ substantially from the manuscript. Nielsen identified titles in the legal supplement with the help of manuscript AM 900,4°, but disappointingly he does not list those titles. Four anonymously registered early sixteenth century titles and 90 apparently fifteenth-century titles in the 'Appendix...in...Jure', as well as 129 entries marked 'Uvis udg.' and 'Vetusta edit.', might have been part of the pre-Reformation library (Nielsen, *Vetus Bibliotheca*, 13–14). A number of false references prove annoying, such as nos. 243 and 292, which (falsely) appear to be references to the Danish national bibliography. In quoting Madsen's catalogue of incunabula in the Royal Library Nielsen meets

Editorial decisions – the wording of the catalogue suggests that duplicate copies were not recorded – likely means that the number of books in the library was somewhat higher.²⁷ At least 371 entries, representing 350 volumes, refer to works printed before the Reformation. Torben Nielsen also listed a large number of works as anonymous but provided possible identifications. If these identifications were included in our calculation, then the number of pre-Reformation works could be as high as 590.

In the introduction to his edition of the catalogue, Nielsen sketches the history of the university library and its acquisitions and claims that although the university was founded in the fifteenth century, it did not built up a library of its own until after the introduction of the Reformation, when it was able to acquire medieval monastic libraries from institutions that had been abolished. Nielson dates the first acquisition period to the years 1539 to 1559, during which period these book collections were incorporated into the university library.²⁸ He gives no indication of works that would have been accessible to professors and students at the university before 1539. There were only parish churches in Copenhagen at that time – although the most important church, the Church of Our Lady [Vor Frue kirke], then still named St Mary's Church, had strong links to the chapter of Roskilde Cathedral – but the city lacked a cathedral chapter equipped with more scholarly texts.

Nielsen is wrong to deny the existence of a university library before 1539. In 1479, parts of an older Latin school were transformed into what would become the University of Copenhagen. The early university library seems likely to have comprised a number of individual collections, starting with the books that belonged to that school, to which were added acquisitions and donations. The first such donation, in 1482 by Peder Albertsen, the university's vice-rector, was followed fifteen years later by a larger donation containing twenty-four books.²⁹ The period of acquisition that commenced with the university's reformation as a Lutheran institution in 1537, should therefore be seen as the third, not the first, stage in the development of the university library. When the

only bibliographical needs, for he neither locates copies from the university library nor provides information on provenances.

27 Nielsen, *Vetus Bibliotheca*, 37 entry 87.

28 Ibid., 13.

29 Jan Pinborg, ed., *Universitas studii Haffnensis, stiftelsedokumenter og statutter 1479* (Copenhagen 1979), 127–128. Pinborg wrongly identifies the *Questiones Versoris super totam Logicam* as National Library of Denmark incunables (Madsen, *Katalog*, 4129 and 4138), for these incunables were printed in August and July 1497 respectively, while the donation was made as early as 25 June 1497; see Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 34.

library was destroyed in its entirety by fire in 1728, all post-Reformation donations that contained medieval books went up in flames too.³⁰ Table 4.7 lists all pre-Reformation works that can be identified today; as far as possible I have followed the wording in the catalogue of 1603.

TABLE 4.7 *Copenhagen University Library: pre-Reformation works in content-based order.*

Author/title	Copies	Content
<i>Biblia</i>	6	Bible
Cassiodorus <i>Expositio in Psalterium</i>	2	Bible
Honorius Augustodunensis <i>In cantica canticorum</i>	1	Bible
<i>Lyrae in Psalterium T. II–IV</i>	1	Bible
Marchesinus <i>Mammetractus</i>	1	Bible
Perez de Valentia <i>Cantica canticorum cum expositione</i>	1	Bible
Turrecremata <i>In psalmos</i>	1	Bible
Augustinus <i>Confessiones</i>	1	Biographical
Bartholomaeus Pisanus <i>Liber conformitatum vitae Beati Francisci</i>	1	Biographical
Gaultier de Lille <i>Alexandri Magni vita carmine Heroico</i>	1	Biographical
Hieronymus <i>Vitae patrum</i>	1	Biographical
<i>Historia D. Annae Dominicae Aviae</i>	1	Biographical
Jacobus de Voragine <i>Legenda aurea sanctorum sive Historia Lombardica</i>	3	Biographical
Philippus de Bergamo <i>De claris selectisque mulieribus</i>	1	Biographical
Albertus Magnus <i>Sermones de tempore & sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Alphonsus de Spina <i>Fortalicium fidei contra Judaeos, Saracenos & alios</i>	2	Catechetical
<i>Amici Sermones breves, dicti amici, de tempore, sanctis & festivitibus</i>	1	Catechetical
Aquinas <i>Tractatus de modo praedicandi</i>	1	Catechetical
Astesanus <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	1	Catechetical
Augustinus <i>Sermones</i>	2	Catechetical
Berchorius <i>Figurarum Bibliae, sev reductorium morale</i>	3	Catechetical
Bernardinus Senensis <i>Sermones</i>	1	Catechetical
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>In cantica canticorum</i>	1	Catechetical

(Continued)

30 One of these donations was Frands Villumsen's collection of about 125 books in 180 volumes, made in 1565; Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 38.

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Bonaventura <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	2	Catechetical
Bonaventura <i>Sermones seu Postilla</i>	3	Catechetical
Bromyard <i>Opus, sev summa praedicantium</i>	1	Catechetical
Bustis <i>Sermonum praedicabilium Rosarii P. I–II</i>	1	Catechetical
Chaimis <i>Confessionale</i>	1	Catechetical
Contractus <i>Sermones...de tempore & sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Dionysius Carthusiensis <i>Speculum animae peccatricis</i>	1	Catechetical
Dionysius Carthusiensis <i>Speculum hebdomadale</i>	1	Catechetical
Farinator <i>Lumen animae. Liber moralitatum elegantiss</i>	1	Catechetical
Ferrer <i>Sermones</i>	5	Catechetical
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	1	Catechetical
Henningk de Haynis <i>Sermo ad gloriam Dominicae passionis</i>	1	Catechetical
Herolt <i>Discipulus de eruditione Christi fidelium</i>	2	Catechetical
Herolt <i>Themata sermonum de tempore</i>	1	Catechetical
Johannes de Verdena <i>Sermones dormi secure de tempore</i>	1	Catechetical
Johannes Vercellensis <i>Sermones Vademecum de tempore & sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Le Maistre <i>De temperantia opus</i>	1	Catechetical
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de Sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Ludovicus Pruthenus <i>Trilogium animae</i>	1	Catechetical
Maistre <i>Quaestiones morales...Quaestiones additae in librum de Fortitudine</i>	1	Catechetical
Meffreth <i>Sermones</i>	3	Catechetical
Oswaldus de Lasko <i>Biga salutis...Sermones de Sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Paludanus <i>Sermones Thesauri novi de tempore totius anni</i>	1	Catechetical
Paratus <i>Sermones de tempore & sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Pelbartus de Temesvar <i>Sermones</i>	3	Catechetical
Petrus de Lutrea <i>Sermones...de tempore et de sanctis</i>	1	Catechetical
Petrus Ravennatis <i>Sermones</i>	1	Catechetical
<i>Poenitas cito seu de modo confitendi & paenitendi</i>	1	Catechetical
<i>Praeceptorium Decalogi</i>	1	Catechetical
<i>Quadragesimale minoritae cujusdam de perfecta conversione peccatoris</i>	1	Catechetical
Raulin <i>Sermones</i>	2	Catechetical
Raymundus de Pennaforti <i>Summula</i>	2	Catechetical

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum morale libri 3 + De virginitate</i>	1	Catechetical
Aesopus <i>Moralizatus cum Commento</i>	1	Classical
Aristoteles <i>Opera omnia Latine</i>	2	Classical
Cicero <i>Epistolae</i>	3	Classical
Cicero <i>Opera Epistolica</i>	1	Classical
Cicero <i>Orationes</i>	2	Classical
Horatius <i>Opera sum commentariis Mancinelli & Ascensii</i>	1	Classical
Lucanus <i>Pharsalia cum duplici explanatione Sulpitii & Badii Ascensii</i>	1	Classical
Ovidius <i>Metamorphosis ex editione episcopi Menensis</i>	1	Classical
Seneca <i>Opera</i>	1	Classical
Vergilius Maro <i>Moretum</i>	1	Classical
Vergilius Maro <i>Opera cum commentariis Servii, Donati, Landini</i>	1	Classical
Bustis <i>Mariale</i>	2	Devotional
Clichtoveus <i>Tractatus aliquot de puritate, dolore, statione ad crucem</i>	1	Devotional
Dionysius [Gerardus de Harderwyck] <i>Cordiale quatuor novissimorum</i>	2	Devotional
Duranti <i>Rationale divin. Officiorum</i>	2	Devotional
Jacobus de Voragine <i>Laudes Beatae Mariae Virginis</i>	2	Devotional
Ludolphus de Saxonia <i>Vita Christi</i>	1	Devotional
Martinus de Nimira <i>Sermo de passione Domini</i>	1	Devotional
Pelbartus de Temesvar <i>Stellarium coronae B. Virginis</i>	3	Devotional
Raulin <i>Itinerarium Paradysi s. Sermones de paenitentia</i>	1	Devotional
Sanchez de Arevalo <i>Speculum vitae humanae</i>	1	Devotional
Sibylla <i>Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum Barth. Sybillae</i>	1	Devotional
Thomas a Kempis <i>Sermones Opera</i>	1	Devotional
Augustinus de Ancona <i>Summa de Ecclesiastica potestate</i>	2	Ecclesiastical
Balthasar de Porta/Guilelmus de Gouda <i>Expositio mysteriorum missae</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Baptista Cathaneis <i>Speculum ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Biel <i>Expositio canonis Missae</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Cusanus <i>De concordantia Catholica</i>	1	Ecclesiastical

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Frenand <i>Speculum disciplinae Monasticae</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Guilelmus de Gouda <i>Expositio missae</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Helgesen <i>De Simoniaca pravitate Oratio</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Hilarius Litomericensis <i>Tractatus contra perfidiam Bohemorum</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Institoris <i>Contra quatuor errores novissimos adversus Eucharistiam</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Jacobus de Clusa <i>De valore missarum pro defunctis</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Johannes de Lapide <i>Resolutorium dubiorum circa celebrationem missarum</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
<i>Stella clericorum</i>	2	Ecclesiastical
<i>Tribulatio seculi</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Turrecremata <i>Tractatus de potestate Pape & concilii generalis</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Weigel <i>Clavicula indulgentialis</i>	1	Ecclesiastical
Annonii Monachi <i>De gestis Francorum</i>	1	History
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicae</i>	4	History
<i>Historia Alexandri Magni Regis Macedoniae, de preliis</i>	1	History
Ljutprandi Ticinenis <i>Rerum gestarum per Europam suo tempore</i>	1	History
Petrus Blesensis <i>Epistolae</i>	1	History
Petrus de Natalibus <i>Catalogi sanctorum</i>	1	History
Philippus de Bergamo <i>Supplementum chronicarum</i>	1	History
Rolevinck <i>Fasciculus temporum</i>	2	History
Sabellico <i>Rapsodiae historiarum Enneadum</i>	1	History
Saxo Grammaticus	1	History
Schedel <i>Chronicarum liber</i>	1	History
Valerius Maximus [<i>Opus</i>] <i>cum duplici commentatio...Oliverii Arzignanensis</i>	1	History
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum historiale</i>	2	History
Baptista Mantuanus <i>Operum T. I–III.</i>	1	Humanism
Erasmus of Rotterdam <i>Morias Encomium</i>	1	Humanism
Filelfo <i>Epistolae</i>	1	Humanism
Gresemund <i>Historia violatae crucis</i>	1	Humanism
Petrarca <i>Opera</i>	1	Humanism
Pius II. <i>Epistolae</i>	2	Humanism

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Rhodiginus <i>Lectionum antiquarum libri 16</i>	1	Humanism
Calderinus <i>Avtoritates decretorum</i>	1	Law, canon
<i>Compendium juris canonici</i>	1	Law, canon
<i>De contractibus et vitalitiis</i>	1	Law, canon
Gratianus <i>Codex decretorum, una cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis</i>	1	Law, canon
Gratianus <i>Decreta cum apparatu Barth.</i>	1	Law, canon
Innocentius IV. <i>Summa de poenitentia</i>	1	Law, canon
Johannes Gallensis <i>Summa collationum sive Communiloquium</i>	1	Law, canon
Martinus Polonus <i>Margarita decreti seu tabula Martiniana</i>	2	Law, canon
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Lectura super decretalium</i>	6	Law, canon
Anglicus <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	1	Law, general
Schussenried <i>Modus abbreviaturas legendi in utroque jure</i>	1	Law, general
Iustinianus <i>Codex Justiniani</i>	1	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Digestum novum</i>	3	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Digestum vetus</i>	2	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Infortiatum</i>	1	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Instituta</i>	2	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Libri Autentici seu collationum Feudorum</i>	1	Law, civil
Iustinianus <i>Volumen cum casib. Bartholi & Angli</i>	1	Law, civil
<i>Graduale Romanum Volumen graduum</i>	1	Liturgical
<i>Missale Cracoviense</i>	1	Liturgical
<i>Missale secundum consuetudinem Rom. Curiae</i>	1	Liturgical
Albertus Magnus <i>Compendium Theologiae veritatis</i>	1	Medieval theology
Albertus Magnus <i>In sententiarum P. I–IV</i>	1	Medieval theology
Albertus Magnus <i>Postillatio in Apoc.</i>	1	Medieval theology
Albertus Magnus <i>Summae I. & II. Pars</i>	1	Medieval theology
Alexander de Hales <i>Operum seu summae Theologicae P. I–IV</i>	1	Medieval theology

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Aquinas <i>Contra Gentiles de veritate Catholicae fidei Libri IV</i>	1	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Expositiones textuales...in libros De coelo, de gener. & corrupt. etc.</i>	1	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Problemata quaestionum primi sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Quaestiones de potentia Dei</i>	1	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Quaestiones de veritate</i>	2	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Scriptum super quarto sententiarum</i>	5	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Sentent. Liber III</i>	1	Medieval theology
Aquinas <i>Summa theologiae</i>	5	Medieval theology
Bacon <i>Opus in 4. lib. Sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Epistolae</i>	1	Medieval theology
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	1	Medieval theology
Capreolus <i>Defensionum Theologicarum Thomae Aqv. In I. sentent. Liber I.II</i>	1	Medieval theology
Duns Scotus <i>Quaestiones in Universalia Porphyrii</i>	1	Medieval theology
Duns Scotus <i>Super sententiarum I–IV</i>	1	Medieval theology
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Rhetorica divina de oratione</i>	1	Medieval theology
Henricus de Gorichem <i>Quaestiones</i>	1	Medieval theology
Lombardus <i>Compendium Magistri sententiarum secundum ordinis Alphabeti</i>	1	Medieval theology
Lombardus <i>Magister sententiarum</i>	4	Medieval theology

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Paraldus <i>Summa de Virtutibus</i>	2	Medieval theology
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia scholastica</i>	1	Medieval theology
Rainerius de Pisis <i>Pantheologiae</i>	3	Medieval theology
Richardus de Mediavilla <i>In IV sententiarum</i>	1	Medieval theology
Thomas de Argentina <i>Scripta super quattuor libros sententiarum lib. I–II</i>	1	Medieval theology
Augustinus <i>Epistolae</i>	1	Patristic theology
Augustinus <i>In psalmos</i>	1	Patristic theology
Augustinus <i>Tractatus diversi</i>	1	Patristic theology
Chrysostomus <i>In Johannem</i>	1	Patristic theology
Ephrem Syrus <i>Tractatus de compunctione cordis</i>	1	Patristic theology
Gregorius Magnus <i>Gregorianae exceptiones in novum testamentum</i>	1	Patristic theology
Gregorius Magnus <i>Homiliae...in Evangelia</i>	1	Patristic theology
Gregorius Magnus <i>Homiliae super Ezechielem</i>	1	Patristic theology
Gregorius Magnus <i>Moralia...in Iobum</i>	4	Patristic theology
Gregorius Magnus <i>Pastorale</i>	1	Patristic theology
Gregorius Magnus <i>Super cantica; in Ezechi.</i>	1	Patristic theology
Hieronymus <i>Operum T. I–VII</i>	1	Patristic theology
Hieronymus <i>Volumen epistolarum</i>	1	Patristic theology

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Isidorus Hispalensis <i>De summo bono libri 3</i>	1	Patristic theology
Lactantius <i>Opera</i>	1	Patristic
Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita <i>Opera</i>	1	Patristic
Agricola <i>Dialectica</i>	1	Pedagogical
<i>Ars dicendi sive perorandi</i>	1	Pedagogical
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	4	Pedagogical
Berchorius <i>Dictionarii P. I–III</i>	2	Pedagogical
Boethius <i>De disciplina Scholarum</i>	2	Pedagogical
Ebrardus Bethuniensis <i>Graecismi liber cum glossa Joh. Vincentii</i>	1	Pedagogical
Eyb <i>Margarita Poetica</i>	1	Pedagogical
Guntherus de Pairis <i>Opus pulcerium de oratione</i>	1	Pedagogical
Hesychius Alexandrinus <i>Dictionarium Graece Hesychii ex editione Aldina</i>	1	Pedagogical
Maius <i>De priscorum proprietate verborum</i>	1	Pedagogical
Reuchlin <i>Vocabularius</i>	2	Pedagogical
<i>Speculum exemplorum</i>	2	Pedagogical
Theodulus <i>Ecloga</i>	1	Pedagogical
Valla <i>Dialectica</i>	1	Pedagogical
Valla <i>Elegantiae linguae latinae. Add: ...In errores Antonii Raudensis. De libero arbitrio</i>	1	Pedagogical
Aquinas <i>Opuscula Theolog. & Philosophica</i>	1	Philosophy
Aristoteles <i>Adhuc Versor in Ethicorum lib. X.</i>	1	Philosophy
Aristoteles <i>Commentarii Gerhardi Harderwick in libr. 3 de anima</i>	1	Philosophy
Aristoteles <i>Copulata parvae Logicae secundum viam Thomistarum, cum textu Aristotelis</i>	1	Philosophy
Aristoteles <i>Ethica</i>	2	Philosophy
Aristoteles <i>Politica</i>	3	Philosophy
Augustinus <i>De civitate Dei</i>	2	Philosophy
Boethius <i>De consolatione</i>	2	Philosophy
Bouelles <i>De Intellectu</i>	1	Philosophy
Cicero <i>Opera Rhetorica</i>	2	Philosophy

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Conradus de Alemania <i>Mensae philosophicae & responsorii curiosorum tractatus</i>	1	Philosophy
Coronel <i>Expositio in lib. Posteriorum Arist.</i>	1	Philosophy
Gerardus de Harderwyck <i>Commentaria in lib. De anima</i>	1	Philosophy
Niger <i>Clypeus Thomistarum</i>	3	Philosophy
Damianus <i>Ad Leonem X...de expeditione in Turcas elegeia</i>	1	Politics
[Nielsen: <i>Epistolae</i>]		
Albertus Magnus <i>Tractatus parvorum naturalium De sensu sensato</i>	1	Sciences
Alexander <i>Mathemalogium in novam et veteram Logicam Aristot.</i>	1	Sciences
Aristoteles <i>Commentaria trium librorum Meteororum Arist. Jacobi de Amffordia</i>	1	Sciences
Aristoteles <i>Economicorum lib. Cum commentariolo ejusd. Versoris</i>	1	Sciences
Aristoteles <i>In parva naturalia</i> [Tract volume]	1	Sciences
Boethius <i>Opera de Arithmetica, de Musica, de Geometria, de Philosophiae consolatione</i>	1	Sciences
Bonetus <i>De annulo Astronomico</i>	1	Sciences
Breydenbach <i>Peregrinatio in terram sanctam</i>	1	Sciences
Canonicus <i>Quaestiones Joh. Canonici in 8 libros Physicorum</i>	1	Sciences
Coronel <i>Physice perscrutationes</i>	1	Sciences
Dionysius Periegetes <i>Antonii Veronensis in Dionysium, de situ orbis</i>	1	Sciences
Euclides <i>Elementarum opus cum Commentariis Campani</i>	1	Sciences
Euclides <i>Geometria</i>	1	Sciences
Johannes de Magistris <i>Quaestiones super tota philosophia naturali ex mente Scoti</i>	1	Sciences
Lambertus de Monte <i>Arist. Philosophiae natural. Ex Commentariis Aquinatis</i>	1	Sciences
Lambertus de Monte <i>Compilatio commentaria...in VIII libros Aristotelis de physico</i>	1	Sciences
Lefèvre d'Etaples <i>Introductio in geometriam</i>	1	Sciences
Lefèvre d'Etaples <i>Introductio in libros arithmeticos Boetii</i>	1	Sciences
Manliis <i>Lumen Apothecariorum...ad Practicam Joh. Maesuae</i>	1	Sciences

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Mesue <i>Medicinae opera Latine cum additione Pet. Apponi</i>	2	Sciences
<i>Methodus utriusque juris</i>	1	Sciences
Petrus de Crescentiis <i>Opus ruralium commodorum</i>	1	Sciences
Ptolemaeus <i>Cosmographiae libri 8</i>	1	Sciences
Sacrobosco <i>Sphaera & Bonetus de annulo Astronomico & geometria Euclidis</i>	1	Sciences
Saliceto <i>Antidotarium animae</i>	1	Sciences
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum naturale</i>	2	Sciences
Aiguani <i>In IV lib. Sententiarum</i>	1	Theology
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	11	Theology
Bandellus de Castronovo <i>De singulari...conceptione Mariae Virginis</i>	1	Theology
Biel <i>Super sententiarum I–IV</i>	1	Theology
Bonaventura <i>In sententiarum I–IV</i>	2	Theology
Dionysius Carthusiensis <i>De particulari iudicio Dei</i>	1	Theology
Erasmus of Rotterdam <i>Lucubratiunculae</i>	1	Theology
Gerson <i>Lectiones de vita & de morte animae spirituali</i>	1	Theology
Gerson <i>Opera</i>	4	Theology
Goddam <i>Super quattuor libros Sententiarum</i>	1	Theology
Hadrianus VI <i>Computus hominis agonizantis</i>	1	Theology
Hadrianus VI <i>Quaestiones</i>	3	Theology
Henricus de Zoemerem <i>Epitoma primae partis Dialogi de haereticis Ockam</i>	1	Theology
Hermannus de Petra <i>In Orationum dominicam</i>	1	Theology
Herp <i>Speculum aureum de praeceptis Divinae legis</i>	1	Theology
Holkot <i>Super sapientiam Salomonis</i>	4	Theology
Jacobus de Clusa <i>De moribus & erroribus</i>	1	Theology
Nicolaus de Ausmo <i>Supplementum</i>	2	Theology
Nicolaus de Lyra <i>Moralia in Universa Biblia</i>	1	Theology
Nider <i>De morali lepra</i>	1	Theology
Ockham <i>In sententiarum</i>	2	Theology
Petrus de Aquila <i>In quat. Libr. Sententiarum</i>	1	Theology
Petrus de Bergamo <i>Tabula Alphabetica in omnes libros Th. Aquinatis</i>	1	Theology

(Continued)

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Copies	Content
Raulin <i>Doctrinale mortis seu de triplici morte, temporalis, culpae & Gehennali</i>	1	Theology
Reuchlin <i>De verbo mirifico</i>	2	Theology
Rode <i>Epistolae perutile</i>	1	Theology
Valla <i>De voluptate</i>	1	Theology
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>De liberali ingenuorum institutione</i>	1	Theology

The collection contains the works of more than 180 authors as well as anonymously published texts. Theologians such as Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, Albertus Magnus and Gregory I are represented by between six and ten titles each. The library held seven editions of the civil law code of Emperor Justinian. Classical authors are also well represented, with nine works by Aristotle, four by Cicero and three by Boethius. About 79% of the collection consists of works by authors who are represented by a single title only; another 13% are by authors represented by two titles. The part of the library that appears to have been a collection intended specifically for students was quite small, with fifteen authors contributing between three and ten works each (about 8%). These figures replicate very closely the pattern for Uppsala University Library: 79% of the authors in Quensel's catalogue contributed a single title, another 15% contributed two titles each; the remaining authors are present in the Uppsala collection with between three and five titles each, and Thomas Aquinas is the most-popular author, followed by Justinian, Aristotle and Gregory I. But while professors and students in Copenhagen were able to study a large number of works by Albertus Magnus, his name is missing in Uppsala, where we find instead the works of the fifteenth-century canonist Panormitanus de Tudeschi.

The first category of titles in the Copenhagen library contains six editions of the Bible in whole or in part as well as a small number of biblical works, such as Marchesinus' *Mammotrectus* (4%). The largest category is that of catechetical literature, with sixty titles (16%). It contains the usual collection of sermons featuring authors such as Berchorius, Bonaventura, Ferrer and Herolt and two of the best-selling authors of the late medieval period, Meffreth and Pelbartus de Temesvar. Devotional books make up 5% of the total collection, and with eighteen titles this group is just as large as that containing ecclesiastical literature. Among the devotional books are a large number related to the

Virgin Mary (Bustis, Jacobus de Voragine, Pelbartus de Temesvar). Among the ecclesiastical works are books on the Mass (Guilelmus de Gouda, Biel and Johannes de Lapide), works on the church, such as Hilarius Litomericensis on the heresies of the Hussites, Institoris' *Contra quattuor errores novissimos adversus Eucharistiam*, and the Danish Carmelite monk Poul Helgesen on simony. The three liturgical books appear almost accidental. The legal section is small, with seventeen books on canon law (about 4%), predominantly copies of Amerbach's 1488 Basel edition of the lectures of Panormitanus de Tudeschis. A substantial part of the library contains theological works, a total of 112 titles (30%). A small number are works of patristic theology, above all Augustine and Gregory I. The collection of medieval and late medieval theology is much larger, with a particularly large number of works by Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard and Albertus Magnus. The second-largest category contains late medieval and general theology. The star of this section is Antoninus Florentinus, with eleven editions of his *Summa theologica*, but Gerson, Hadrian VI, and Holkot are also well represented. This segment includes an edition of the *Epistolae perutile* of the Dutch theologian Hinne Rode, who was associated with the Brethren of the Common Life in Utrecht.³¹

Almost 35% of the catalogued books are not specifically religious. A Neo-Latin poem on Leo X's plans for a crusade is the only piece of contemporary political literature, although it can also be considered humanist poetry. Eight titles are distinctly humanist, or at least their authors fall squarely into this category: two editions of works written by Pius II before he became pope, the letters of Filelfo, and texts by Petrarch and Baptista Mantuanus. The nine biographical works are largely hagiographic but include the poetic history of Alexander of Macedonia. The section on civil law consists of ten editions of the Justinian code. The small section with classical authors is dominated by Cicero, Aristotle and Virgil. Danish interest in history is also evident here, in eighteen books that include four copies of the *Chronicon* of Antoninus Florentinus, two later Cologne editions of Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*, the pirated 1497 Latin edition of Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* by Schönsperger, and the inevitable Saxo Grammaticus. Classical authors dominate the section on philosophy, particularly Aristotle, whose presence is reinforced by two

31 Copenhagen University Library contained a number of printed works related to the devotio moderna, from the Fratres vitae communis in Brussels (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae* and Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae*) to the Fratres Domus Horti Viridis in Rostock (Bernard of Clairvaux, *In cantica canticorum*; Lactantius, *Opera*; and Vincent of Beauvais, *De liberali ingeniuorum institutione*).

commentaries.³² The pedagogical literature includes not only a mixture of dictionaries and textbooks in Latin, but also two titles on the Greek language, Ebrardus Bethuniensis' *Graecismi liber* and Aldus Manutius' edition of Hesychius Alexandrinus' *Dictionarium Graece*.³³ The last section, secular literature, is large, with twenty-eight books covering a broad spectrum of disciplines. Again the starting point is Aristotle.³⁴ This section contains works on the arithmetic of Boethius³⁵ and the geometry of Euclides³⁶ and the almost inevitable copy of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, as well as works on astronomy³⁷ and medicine.³⁸

Copenhagen and Uppsala University Libraries in Comparison

As noted, in terms of number of works by single authors there is no great difference between the two Scandinavian university libraries. But if we take a closer look at the structure of each collection in comparison (Table 4.8), we can detect variations that might be indicative of acquisition policies related to the courses of study offered at each institution. Although we must be wary of taking this theory too far, the statistical evidence allows a number of tentative conclusions.

Compared to the library at Uppsala University, Copenhagen University Library has a stronger emphasis on catechetical works (16% in Copenhagen, 10% in Uppsala), and ecclesiastical literature (5% in Copenhagen, 1% in Uppsala), as well as on the natural sciences (7% in Copenhagen, 2% in Uppsala) and has a larger proportion of classical and humanistic authors (6% in

32 Gerardus de Harderwyck, *Commentaria in libros De anima*, and Coronel, *Expositio in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis*.

33 The cataloguer was aware of the quality of the edition, which he acknowledged in writing 'Dictionarium Graece Hesychii ex editione Aldina'.

34 *Commentaria rium librorum Meteororum, Enconomicorum liber, In parva naturalia, Quaestiones Johanni Canonici in 8 libros Physicorum*, Lambertus de Monte's *Compilatio commentaria in VIII libros Aristotelis de physico* and his *Aristotelis Philosophiae naturalis ex Commentariis Aquinatis*.

35 Boethius, *Opera de Arithmetica* [et al.] with an introduction by Lefèvre d'Etaples.

36 Euclides, *Elementarum opus cum commentariis Campani* and his *Geometria*.

37 A volume containing among other works Sacrobosco's *Sphaera* and Bonetus' *Annulo de Astronomico*, Fabrus Stapulensis' *Perspectiva introductio super Astronomicum* and an edition of the canonical *Cosmographiae* by Ptolemaeus.

38 Manliis, *Lumen Apothecariorum ad Practicam Maesuae*, the Arabic physician Mesue's medical works in two Venetian editions and William of Saliceto's *Antidotarium animae*.

TABLE 4.8 *Copenhagen and Uppsala University Libraries in comparison: content.*

	Copenhagen		Uppsala	
	Titles	%	Titles	%
<i>Religious literature:</i>	242	65.5	130	78
Bible	13	4	15	9
Catechetical	60	16	17	10
Devotional	18	5	6	4
Ecclesiastical	18	5	2	1
Law, general	3	0.5	5	3
Law, canon	15	4	37	22
Liturgical	3	1	2	1
Medieval theology	44	12	16	10
Patristic theology	19	5	9	5
Theology	49	13	21	13
<i>Secular literature:</i>	129	34.5	36	22
Biographical	9	2	2	1
Classical	13	4	1	1
History	18	5	7	4
Humanism	8	2	—	—
Law, civil	10	3	8	5
Pedagogical	22	6	6	4
Philosophy	20	5	8	5
Politics	1	0.5	—	—
Sciences	28	7	4	2
Total	371	100	166	100

Copenhagen, 1% in Uppsala). On the whole, while predominantly secular literature makes up more than one third of the collection in Copenhagen, it composes only slightly more than one fifth of the Uppsala collection.

Uppsala University Library is stronger than Copenhagen University Library, however, in Bibles and scriptural works (9% in Uppsala, 4% in Copenhagen) and, above all, in legal texts. Legal literature that falls under the categories of general, canon and civil law in Uppsala makes up 30% of the collection, a markedly higher proportion than the 7.5% in Copenhagen. For more than half of the content categories, however, the variation between the two libraries is

insignificant, at between 1% and 2%, or there is no variation at all. Table 4.9 compares both libraries over time ('decade' is determined by date of printing), with an astonishing result: almost half of the prints found in Copenhagen University Library date from the first three decades of these sixty years, with more than 80% of the books in Uppsala University Library from the same period.

The printing dates of the pre-Reformation books acquired by the libraries of Copenhagen and Uppsala universities give form to the acquisition policies of these institutions over six decades. The figures in Table 4.9 suggest the importance of geography as a factor in the growth and development of academic book collections in Scandinavia that were dependent on financial, ecclesiastical and political support. Jakob Ulvsson, archbishop of Uppsala, was the force behind the establishment of the university and, surely, the principal supporter of its library in its first decades. More than 80% of the books in Uppsala University Library were printed before 1491, and the printing dates suggest that acquisitions dropped rapidly after 1490, perhaps an indication of a fall in commitment to the university and its library. Acquisition numbers in Copenhagen after 1490 dropped more gradually, but by 1500 more than 70% of the collection had been acquired. Books were acquired in significant number by Copenhagen

TABLE 4.9 *Copenhagen and Uppsala University Libraries in comparison: date of printing.*

Decade	Copenhagen		Uppsala	
	Titles	%	Titles ³⁹	%
<i>Period 1</i>	174	47	123	81
1461–1470	1	0	2	1
1471–1480	73	20	62	41
1481–1490	100	27	59	39
<i>Period 2</i>	197	53	28	19
1491–1500	93	25	19	13
1501–1510	55	15	3	2
1511–1520	49	13	6	4
Total	371	100	152	100

39 The Uppsala collection contains a number of unidentified and therefore undated works, which unfortunately had to be omitted from this comparison.

University Library throughout the decades up to 1500; the drop in acquisitions came in the early sixteenth century, some twenty years later than in Uppsala (Table 4.10).

TABLE 4.10 *Copenhagen and Uppsala University Libraries in comparison: place of printing.*

Place of printing	Copenhagen		Uppsala	
	Titles	%	Titles	%
Basel	49	13	21	13
Cologne	59	16	9	5
Strasbourg	50	14	18	11
Nuremberg	41	11	25	15
Venice	32	9	24	14
Paris	29	8	4	2
Unknown	6	2	20	12
Lyons	12	3	5	3
Speyer	8	2	6	4
Louvain	10	3	2	1
Mainz	2	1	9	5
Deventer	7	2	2	1
Lübeck	5	1	3	2
Leipzig	6	2	1	1
Augsburg	4	1	2	1
Milan	5	1	0	0
Hagenau	4	1	1	1
Rome	2	1	3	2
Ulm	3	1	1	1
Zwolle	3	1	1	1
Antwerp	3	1	0	0
Rostock	3	1	0	0
Basel or Nuremberg	2	1	0	0
Brussels	2	1	0	0
Copenhagen	2	1	0	0
Hagenau/Strasbourg	2	1	0	0
Hamburg	2	1	0	0
Freiburg	0	0	2	1

(Continued)

TABLE 4.10 (Continued)

Place of printing	Copenhagen		Uppsala	
	Titles	%	Titles	%
Strasbourg,	0	0	2	1
Nuremberg or Basel				
Basel or Paris	1	0	0	0
Basel or Venice	1	0	0	0
Delft	1	0	0	0
Esslingen	1	0	0	0
Ferrara	1	0	0	0
Gouda	1	0	0	0
Heidelberg	1	0	0	0
Nuremberg,	1	0	0	0
Strasbourg or Venice				
Parma	1	0	0	0
Reutlingen or	1	0	0	0
Augsburg				
Treviso	1	0	0	0
Tübingen	1	0	0	0
Urach	1	0	0	0
Utrecht	1	0	0	0
Augsburg or	0	0	1	1
Strasbourg				
Bologna	0	0	1	1
Cologne or Leipzig	0	0	1	1
Padua	0	0	1	1
Stockholm	0	0	1	1
Verona	0	0	1	1

In over half of all cases, multiple copies of a single work were the work of one publisher. For example, Amerbach in Basel printed all the copies of Panormitanus de Tudeschis' *Lectura super decretalium*. The printer C.W. in Strasbourg published all the copies of Berchorius, *Figuram Bibliae*. Grüninger in Strassburg was responsible for more than half of the copies of Antoninus Florentinus' *Summa theologica*. Three of the four copies of Lombard's *Magister*

sententiarum belong to three editions published by Kesler in Basel between 1486 and 1502. It appears highly improbable that this statistic is simply coincidental or a reflection of acquisitions made by Danish students at foreign universities; far more likely is that several printer-publishers not only had a good feel for the Danish market but also held short-term quasi-monopolies, which meant that they either sold multiple copies from one edition at a time or appeared repeatedly on local or regional book markets with copies of subsequent editions of a number of authors and titles. The works of Basel-based printers, from Amerbach in the 1480s to Froben in the 1510s, are quite common among the Copenhagen collection, with forty-nine titles, or 13% of all titles. The main difference between the collections in Copenhagen and Uppsala in terms of place of publication is that the former contained fifty-nine titles (16%) published in Cologne, while the latter had only nine titles. While there are several early Schöffer prints from Mainz in Uppsala, there is only one in Copenhagen, but Copenhagen University Library contains twice as many prints from Nuremberg. Koberger is one of the most important printer-publishers and booksellers in both collections, with thirty-eight titles (10%) in Copenhagen and twenty-one titles (13%) in Uppsala. Links to Paris were far more characteristic of the Danish institution than of the Swedish library, with twenty-nine titles in Copenhagen the work of Parisian printer-publishers explicitly, but only four titles in Uppsala falling into this category. Copenhagen had an additional twelve titles from printers in Lyons (compared to five in Uppsala), but these works may have been distributed by the Koberger company. Strasbourg was the second most important printing town both for the Copenhagen collection, after Cologne, with fifty titles (14%) and for Uppsala, with eighteen titles (11%). Venice is presented by thirty-two titles (9%) in the collection in Copenhagen, but with twenty-four titles (24%), its share of the Uppsala collection is almost three times as great.

The names on the list display a slight western European predominance, in particular in the lower Rhine valley (Quentell and Koelhoff the Elder in Cologne), the Netherlands, and sixteenth-century Paris (Badin, Petit and others). The Copenhagen list names six Dutch cities, Antwerp, Brussels, Delft, Gouda, Utrecht and Zwolle, as well as a number of more minor printing locations, such as Urach, Heidelberg and Esslingen. This collection also contains more north German and Scandinavian prints than the Swedish collection, with five titles registered as having been printed in Lübeck, three in Rostock, and two each in Hamburg and Copenhagen.⁴⁰

40 The first book printed in Denmark and incorporated into Copenhagen University Library is Govert van Ghemen's edition of Innocent IV, *Summa de poenitentia*, 1497. The second

The most important printing towns in the list for Uppsala are Basel, Cologne, Louvain, Mainz, Nuremberg, Speyer, Strasbourg and Venice. Here we find relatively strong and early central-European elements (Schöffer in Mainz and Koberger in Nuremberg – again, as in Copenhagen, the single most important publishing company) and Italian elements (Jenson and his associates in Venice). The Italian printing towns include Bologna, Padua and Verona in the Uppsala collection, but these towns are absent from the Copenhagen collection. In both collections, the four most-important printing towns contribute more than half of the titles (54% for Copenhagen and 53% for Uppsala). Perhaps as a result of its academic character, as we have noted, and its specific location within trading networks, Uppsala University Library contained few north German and Scandinavian works, with no works from Hamburg or Rostock, only three from Lübeck and one from Stockholm (the *Missale Upsalense* of 1484).

The catalogues of the two Scandinavian pre-Reformation university libraries contain a wealth of information on the development of the book trade, the contemporary academic canon, and the political and financial context of the universities. Many books are surely also missing from these later catalogues but would once have been integral to a university education and therefore present in the libraries, works such as Latin grammars, which would have experienced significant wear and tear. Evidence that tells of additional books that were once present in a university library will in future challenge or strengthen theories generated on the basis of the contents of that library.⁴¹ And information about individual printers and printing towns represented by each collection should be bolstered by similar evidence drawn from other Danish and Swedish book collections in order to help in the reconstruction of the geography of the pre-Reformation book culture.

Copenhagen book is a now-lost work containing a Latin oration by a Carmelite monk, Poul Helgesen, *De Simoniaca pravitate*, which was printed in 1517 in Copenhagen. This work is unknown to HPB and to the Danish national bibliography. Information on the author and his work can be found at http://www.adl.dk/adl_pub/fpportraet/cv/ShowFpItem.aspx?nnoc=adl_pub&ff_id=48&p_fpkat_id=fskab.

41 Ebbesen, *Den danske filosofis historie*, 235–241, mentions Peder Albertsen's books in his chapter on philosophy taught at Copenhagen University before the Reformation and quotes from the statutes of Cologne University, but he does not seem to know anything more of the content of Copenhagen University Library.

Book Collectors and Collections

Private Owners

Nowhere in this study is the lack of evidence from books or other sources more noticeable than when we turn to collections that were privately owned. The individual book owners discussed in this chapter would have been only a small fraction of all book owners in pre-Reformation Scandinavia, but we lack any record of the majority of book owners and the books they owned. Sometimes we know of book owners but not of the books they owned. For example, the last will of Danish vicar Per Persen Toller, who died in Copenhagen in 1521, records a number of book donations to friends and others, but none of the books involved can be identified.¹ Peder Albertsen made two donations of books to Copenhagen University Library (1482 and 1497, the latter containing twenty-four books of legal and medical content), but only a copy of Innocent IV's *Summa de poenitentia* printed in 1497 in Copenhagen by Gotfred of Ghemen and a manuscript can be positively identified.² Other donors of unidentified books are Odde Hansen, to Roskilde Cathedral, and Adser Pedersen and Oluf Esbernsen, to Lund Cathedral.³ We can also assume that quite a few donors of books who died a generation or two after the Reformation left behind collections that included pre-Reformation literature. We must count ourselves fortunate if we have bibliographical information that enables us to identify author and title; information about editions is rare.

Almost all the book owners we can name are men, and usually men of the church. Ericus Erixi was a former dean at Uppsala Cathedral and responsible for its finances. Adser Pedersen, who gave works to Lund Cathedral, is described as 'Kantor' and may therefore have been choirmaster or a schoolteacher in Lund. Magister Andreas, who in 1502 inscribed his name in a copy of Koberger's edition of *Humiliarius doctorum* from 1494 that is preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, must have had a theological degree and may have been a priest connected to one of the churches in Copenhagen. This section focuses

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- 1 Holger F. Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns kirker og klostere i middelalderen* (Copenhagen 1859–1863), 89, 169–172. Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 34.
 - 2 Pinborg, *Universitas*, 127–128; Ilsøe, *Universitetets biblioteker*, 289–364. Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 34. Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 108. Nielsen, *Vetus Bibliotheca*, 68.
 - 3 Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 36.

on individuals whose identification can provide additional social or cultural interpretation to the books with which they are related. Identifying all the individuals named in literary or archival sources would be extremely challenging and is potentially impossible, and the reward from such efforts would therefore be very small. Instead, the discussion in this chapter will focus on the books themselves, highlighting bibliographical features, geographical connections and statistical contributions of these remnants of pre-Reformation Scandinavian book culture.

Denmark

Alongside numerous and substantial institutional collections, book ownership in Denmark must also have involved a good number of private collections.⁴ Danish royal provenances are largely unknown, with only the acquisition in Odense of coloured broadsheets by Danish queen Christine in 1505 and 1507 recorded (see chapter 6, pp. 288–299). Most, but not all, of the known Danish private books owners were clerics. The discussion here follows, as far as is possible, the chronology of the appearance of these private book owners in our sources, omitting names mentioned in earlier chapters of this book. At some point in the 1480s a copy of Martinus Polonis, *Margarita decreti*, was acquired by Magister Mathias Petri in Roskilde. In 1482 Johannes Tidekinus, then provisor of the monastery in Gaunø, signed a copy of the *Rudimentum novitiorum* that is now in the National Library of Denmark. Odde Hansen, who died in 1490, bequeathed three books to the Chapel of the Three Kings [Hellig Tre Kongers kapel] in Roskilde Cathedral: a Latin bible, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aureum* and a *Marietractum*, probably Bernard of Clairvaux's *Tractatus de planctu Marie*.

In the winter term of the academic year 1492/1493, a Danish Carmelite monk named Severinus Pauli was inscribed at the University of Rostock.⁵ In January 1493 he acquired at least two books from an unknown bookseller in Rostock, Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo's *Supplementum chronicarum* printed by Nermardinus Rizus in Venice on 15 February 1492/1493 and Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietate rerum* in Koberger's edition of 1492. The titles had been bound together in a binding that has been attributed to Koberger in

4 This chapter relies heavily on Michelsen's compilation of names and donations; Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 36–40.

5 'Frater Seuerinus Pauli ordinis Carmelitarum de conventu Arusiensi ddt. II mr. XXVI die'; *Matrikel der Universität Rostock* (Rostock 1889), 1:265a.

Nuremberg on account of printer's waste from Koberger's 1493 edition of Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*,⁶ for the binding has an inscription recognising the acquisition by Severinus Pauli and dating it to 1493: 'Sunt libru[m] ffrater seuerin[us] pauli ad usum c[on]ue[n]tus helsingørn rhostock co[m]parauit Pro eo Deum orate [] 1493'. Both the editions and their binding had travelled very quickly, making the journey from Venice and Nuremberg to Rostock in much less than a year. The acquisition of another book from Koberger's production that bears Severinus Pauli's name, an edition of the Bible from 1487, cannot be dated. The work is inscribed *Liber Severini ex Dacia*.⁷ While the Bible might have been Pauli's private property, the assembled volume was either acquired at the expense of the Carmelite monastery at Aarhus or was given to that institution when Pauli entered the monastery, a point at which it would have been usual for a new monk to make a donation. Two further volumes may have belonged to Severinus Pauli, although the name of their owner is given as Paulus Severinus. One volume contains Conradus de Alemania's *Responsorium curiosorum, sive Mensa philosophica* printed by Lucas Brandis at Lübeck in 1476;⁸ the second contains five closely related texts that were highly suitable for a young student: John Anwykyll's *Compendium totius grammaticae* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1492/1493), Ludolphus de Luco's *Flores grammaticae sive Florista* (Basel: either Johann Amerbach or Jacobus Wolff de Pforzheim, between 1489 and 1497), *Regulae de figuratis constructionibus grammaticis* with several added texts (Copenhagen: Govert van Ghemen, 9 July 1493), the *Regulae grammaticales antiquorum* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1490) and finally Johannes Versoris' *Super Donato* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1490).⁹

Petrus Reberg, choirmaster at Roskilde Cathedral, acquired Augustine's *De trinitate* and Alphonsus de Spina's *Fortalitium fidei* in 1496. Johannes Tidekinus, bookbinder in Næstved – who may be identical with Johannes Tidekinus, a Benedictine monk in the monastery in Næstved in the early sixteenth century – seems to have been an educated man. In 1499, he possessed two incunabula on Latin grammar, the *Regulae grammaticales antiquorum* printed by Gotfred of Ghemen in Copenhagen in 1493 and Herben's *De constructione substantivorum* in a Cologne edition of 1494. Mogens Tuessen, mayor of the city of Næstved owned the same books. The *Regulae grammaticales antiquorum* owned by Tuessen is now bound together with a copy of *Donati de paertibus ars minor*, also printed by Gotfred of Ghemen in 1493 and Arndes' edition of *Remigius seu*

6 The volume belongs to Lund University Library.

7 The volume belongs today to Würzburg University Library.

8 AnnMary Brown Memorial Library, Brown University.

9 Bibliothèque Nationale de France Res. X. 786.

Dominus que pars, printed in Slesvig in 1486.¹⁰ In 1500, Brother Andreas gave a book to the Cistercian monastery at Esrom, Baptista de Salis' *Summa casuum conscientiae*. Jens Mathiesen was a monk and prior of the monastery of the Order of the Holy Ghost in Randers; in 1501 he owned a copy of the homilies of Gregory I. In 1502, a copy of the *Humiliarius doctorum* belonged to a Magister Andreas.

In 1505 Oluf Esbernson bequeathed all his books on logics and natural sciences to Anne de Huderopp and all his legal books to Lund Cathedral Library, but we know nothing further of the number and identify of the items involved in this possibly generous donation.¹¹ In 1512, Arild Hake, a member of the city council of Copenhagen, owned a copy of Hans van Ghetelen's 1496 Low German edition of the revelations of St Birgitta; in 1515 a copy of the Latin edition of the revelations belonged to Archbishop Birger Gunnersen in Lund. The date of Gunnersen's acquisition of the *Liber sextus Decretalium*, printed in Basel in 1500 and now in Copenhagen, cannot be established. We know of two books that belonged to Frants Knudsen, a Franciscan monk in Helsingborg, in 1516: the homilies of Gregory I and of Origin. In 1518 Poul Helgesen in then-Danish Varberg owned a now-lost copy of a 1514 edition of Saxo Grammaticus.¹² In 1521, Per Pedersen Tollers donated four books to the Church of Our Lady [Vor Frue Kirk] in Copenhagen.¹³

Hans Jeppesen of Varde in western Denmark is reported to have owned 15 books largely in print, which he delivered in trust to a Simon Petrus in 1525 (Table 5.1).¹⁴ It is possible that this deposition was connected to the turmoil of the civil war. These books, like so many other Danish pre-Reformation book collections, have disappeared without a trace.

Herrevad monastery in then-Danish Skåne was founded by Cistercians as early as 1144. We know nothing of its library, but we do know of books owned by one of its monks. Between 13 and 15 February 1525, Hans Brask, the last Catholic bishop of the diocese of Linköping in Sweden, wrote to the abbot of the monastery about a lawsuit in his Swedish diocese.¹⁵ Brask's letter, a response

10 Hans Jörgen Helms, *Naestved St. Peders Kloster (Skovkloster)* (Næstved 1940), 310–311, 314.

11 Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 36.

12 Information on Poul Helgesen can be found at the Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur, http://www.adl.dk/adl_pub/fportraet/cv/ShowFpItem.xsql?nnoc=adl_pub&ff_id=48&p_fpkat_id=fskab.

13 Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns kirker*, 89, 169–172.

14 C.J. Brandt, 'Kirkelevninger fra Middelalderen: 4. fra Prestegården', *Kirkehistoriske samlinger* 1 (1849–1852), 458–463. C.J. Brandt, 'Et praestebibliotek i slutningen af middelalderen', *Dansk kirketidende* 6, no. 292 (1851), 299–310.

15 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, 360–361 no. 308: 'Casum autem fratris Andree tum vestre fraternitatis tum ipsius domini Andree intuitu quamprimum dabitur occasio sic dante domino absolueus'.

TABLE 5.1 *Books belonging to Hans Jeppesen.*

Author/title
Albertus Magnus
<i>Biblia</i> [latina?]
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>
<i>Corona marie</i>
<i>Cronica mundi</i>
<i>Herbarius</i>
[Herolt?] <i>Discipulus</i> [<i>Sermones discipuli?</i>]
[Jacobus de Voragine?] <i>Mariale sive sermones de beata Mariae Virgine</i>
Meffret <i>Sermones</i>
[Pelbartus de Temeswar] <i>Sermones pomerii</i>
<i>Psalterium daviticum</i>
[Pseudo-Aurifaber] <i>Speculum exemplorum</i>
<i>Sermones de aduentu quadragesimalis</i>
<i>Tractatus sacerdotales</i>
[Rolewinck] <i>Fasciculus temporum</i>

to a letter from the abbot on behalf of a certain Brother Andreas who had appealed to the authority of the bishop, tells us of the circumstances of this exchange. While on a journey through Sweden – the details are not specified – Brother Andreas had left personal belongings in good faith in the custody of a certain Gudmund of Ryeholm (probably Ryholm opposite Vadstena, on the western shore of Lake Vättern).¹⁶ Brother Andreas was now appealing for the return of his possessions, among which were a number of items that are somewhat surprising to find in the possession of a Cistercian monk: a sum of money, fine clothes, a bath towel, shaving instruments, and saddlery. This Cistercian monk seems sprung from a Lutheran libel.¹⁷ Of particular interest for this study

16 Ibid., 361 no. 309: 'Querele contra dominum gummwndum in Ryeholm per fratrem Andrean de heredzwadh ordinis Cisterciensium Vastenis domino facte primo commisit custodie domini gummundi bona fide'.

17 On the discussion of monastery ideals and realities see Martin Berntsson, *Klostren och reformationen: upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596* (Malmö 2003), 189–273. Jürgen Sydow provides a list of clothes, books, furniture and paintings belonging to the German Cistercian monk Michael Schwarzenberger in 1531, see Jürgen Sydow, *Das Bistum Konstanz*, vol. 2: *Die Zisterzienserabtei Bebenhausen* (Berlin 1984), 136.

TABLE 5.2 *Books belonging to Brother Andreas.*

Author/title	Print
<i>Orationale</i> = Hieronymus de Villa	Venice 1491 or Hagenau
<i>Vitis Orationale</i>	1509
<i>Donat</i>	Unknown
<i>Buccolicam virgilii</i> = Virgilius Maro <i>Buccolica</i>	Not later than 1516
<i>Pupillam oculi</i> = Johannes de Burgos <i>Pupillam oculi</i>	Unknown
<i>Vocabularium iuris</i>	Venice 1493 or Paris 1514
<i>Viridarium poetarum</i> = <i>Viridarium illustrium Poetarum</i>	1507–1517
<i>Diurnale</i> = <i>Diurnale Cisterciense</i> ?	Speyer: Drach, 1486?

are the printed works contained in two travel bags belonging to Brother Andreas (see Table 5.2).

This list of seven books, short though it is, has a number of striking features. The titles seem to have been recorded fairly accurately, a quality this list shares with other early modern booklists.¹⁸ So far, no book in a contemporary Scandinavian collection has been identified as once belonging to Brother Andreas of Herrevad. It is possible that these works belonged to the monastery and had been selected by Brother Andreas as reading matter for his journey, but neither Virgil nor the collection of famous poets seems a likely candidate for inclusion in a Cistercian library, unless the study of classical authors was much more common than previously known. It is more likely that these books were Brother Andreas' personal possessions. The *Orationale* and the *Diurnale* would have enabled a Cistercian monk to perform his daily religious routines. The inclusion of Johannes de Burgos' *Pupillam oculi*, an essential text on the administration of the sacraments, suggests that Brother Andreas was a priest, and the presence of 'vocabularium iuris' that he was conversant in legal matters. The remaining three titles are possibly linked: Brother Andreas could have studied classical Latin with the help of Virgil, a compilation of ancient poets and a Latin grammar, which would explain their presence in his pack.

Few women have been verified as book owners,¹⁹ although certainly women could read Danish, German and Latin, and therefore both popular and academic texts. The aforementioned Oluf Esbensen bequeathed an unknown number of books on logic and physics to Anne de Huderopp, who seems to

18 Cf. Czaika, *Elisabet Vasa*.

19 See chapter 5, pp. 242–247, on the books bequeathed by Hans Urne.

have been able to access canonical texts of the liberal arts that required good knowledge of Latin. As noted above, Danish queen Christine acquired printed illustrated broadsheets on the local market, but we have no evidence to tell us whether she also owned books. Barbara Brahe, a member of a noble family with branches in both Denmark and Sweden, has been linked to a woodcut of Mary nursing the Christ Child dated 1475.²⁰ Else Holgersdatter, who seems to have lived in the Danish Brigittine monastery in Mariager, used a copy of Christiern Pedersen's edition of the Book of Hours, *Vor Frue Tider*, as a model for her own handwritten copy.²¹

A large number of works in private ownership cannot be dated, but they seem likely to have been a product of the pre-Reformation period. Hans Herold and his wife, citizens of Copenhagen, together owned five books with various contents: four unidentified German books and a book with heraldic content that was probably a manuscript.²² Theodericus Depenbeken in Cismar owned one of the earliest books recorded, a 1471 edition of Chrysostom's *Sermones in Job*. A pair of incunabula belonged to Henrick Schütt, another citizen of Cismar, the *Sermones de sanctis* of Jacobus de Voragine and the *Vitas patrum* in Koberger's edition of 1478. An otherwise unknown Danish monk called Jens is connected to a copy of a Koberger edition of Peter Lombard. A copy of the 1492 *Revelationes* belonged to Ludovicus Skulte, a Dominican monk in Næstved. Johannes Olavi, who was in some way connected to Lund Cathedral, owned a *Speculum exemplorum*. All we know of Johan Albertsen is that he lived in Copenhagen and owned Sedulus' *In librum evangeliorum* published in Utrecht in 1473 and Boethius' *De consolatione* published in Nuremberg in 1483. A group of six men is mentioned in connection with three incunabula, Augustine's *De contemptu mundi* and Versor's *Questiones super de coelo Aristotelis* and *Questiones super metaphysicam Aristotelis*.²³ They shared these books, but we cannot tell how they read and annotated them. Perhaps they engaged in book-lending or book-sharing activity inspired by a lay religious movement like the *Devotio moderna* and the Brethren of the Common Life or by humanist ideas of friendship. These six men, Gerhardus Byngher, Laurentius Johannis, Laurentius Nicolai, Georgius Sconingh, Johannes Valkendorf and 'Christiern Daa Malmö', were all from the Danish town of Malmö. It is possible that the

20 Ulla Haastrup, 'Dansk kirkekunst med trykte forlaeg', *Bogvennen* (1982), 105–128, here 107–110.

21 Hedström, *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker*, 332.

22 Else Røsdahl, 'Skrift og bog. Tid og fornoejelser', Else Røsdahl, ed., *Dagligliv i Danmarks middelalder – en arkeologisk kulturhistorie* (Copenhagen 1999), 238–260, here 244.

23 The National Library of Denmark inc. 4131, 4137, 4296.

‘Christiern Daa Malmö’ mentioned here was Christiern Pedersen, who is recorded in the Malmö List as ‘dominus Cristiernus Malmogie’.

Collections dated after 1525 might have included books with Scandinavian pre-Reformation provenance: in 1535/1536 Adser Pedersen, choirmaster at Lund Cathedral, donated a copy of Baptista de Tortis’ 1499 Venetian edition of Gratianus’ *Decretum* that seems to have been in Lund before 1525.²⁴

Nicolaus Canuti (or Niels Knudsen) became dean at Lund Cathedral about 1502 and studied abroad in the middle of the first decade of the sixteenth century, during which time he must have acquired most of his books. His collection became part of the cathedral library not later than 1541, most probably earlier. The books had therefore been part of the literary culture of Lund long before they were added to the now-Lutheran cathedral library. Seven of his books have been identified (see Table 5.3) – they survived in four volumes enclosed in contemporary bindings by a Lund bookbinder and are now in Lund University Library. Another part of his collection consisted of eight unidentified books on canon law.²⁵

The books belonging to Peder Sørensen (ca. 1520–1588), pastor in Nykøbing, were catalogued in 1588, when his library contained 234 titles in 254 volumes.²⁶ A number of books that do not appear in the inventory have also been identified as having belonged to Sørensen: 202 titles in 171 volumes preserved in the library of the diocese of Sjælland in Roskilde may also have belonged to Sørensen. Sørensen’s library was assembled after 1525 and the majority of the titles it contained were published in or after 1525, but a number of titles belong to the pre-Reformation period, including all the pedagogical literature as well as some catechetical and devotional books. The library contains the standard Saxo Grammaticus in Badin’s Paris 1514 edition²⁷ as well as a copy of Henry VIII’s *Assertio septem* printed in 1523. Sørensen inherited four volumes from Hans Holst, the last Catholic priest in the city of Nykøbing and Sørensen’s predecessor.²⁸ The parish church of Nykøbing had been the church of the Franciscan monastery before the Reformation, and it is possible that books that had formerly been in the possession of the Franciscans could have come into Sørensen’s hands. Sørensen’s collection is one of the last to have had direct

24 I have not been able to verify that Oslo Cathedral Library once owned an unidentified older book (incunable?) donated not later than 1537 by Peder Stub, mayor of the Danish town of Viborg.

25 Callmer, ‘Samlingar’, 50.

26 Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 14.

27 The copy now in Sjællands Stiftsbibliotek in Roskilde is not Sørensen’s own copy, which disappeared at an unknown date.

28 Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen*, 12, 61.

TABLE 5.3 *Books belonging to Nicolus Canuti.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Bartolus de Saxoferrato <i>Consilia quaestiones et tractatus cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani</i> ²⁹	Venice	Baptista de Tortis	1495
Bartolus de Saxoferrato <i>Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni</i>	Venice	Baptista de Tortis	1499
Bernardus Parmensis <i>Casus</i> ³⁰	Basel	Wenssler	1480
Jodocus Erfordensis <i>Vocabularius</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1490
Michael de Dalen <i>Casus</i> ³¹	Strasbourg	Husner	1485
Minuccius <i>Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli</i>	Venice	Paganinus de Paganinis	1498/1500
Werner von Schussenried <i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas</i>	Strasbourg	Husner	1490

access to pre-Reformation literature on the Danish book market, before those works became an antiquarian commodity.

Books Belonging to Hans Urne

The survival of the last will of Hans Urne, dean at the cathedral of Roskilde and provost of the cathedral at Odense, provides us with access to a remarkable pre-Reformation private book collection.³² According to this document, dated 1503, Hans Urne was a wealthy man who received the incomes of his offices at both Odense and Roskilde Cathedrals. We can assume that he had attended at least one university, either Copenhagen University or an unknown foreign institution. Urne's will reveals not only a typical education, but also a very substantial and atypical enthusiasm for books. Although this document has long been known, its content has not yet been studied in detail, an omission I seek to rectify here.

Hans Urne's will reveals his profound engagement in the religious life and educational endeavours in his home town of Odense. He bequeathed a large

²⁹ Bound together with Minuccius.

³⁰ Bound together with Werner von Schussenried.

³¹ Bound together with Werner von Schussenried.

³² 'Om Mester Hans Urne', 289–297.

number of books to relatives, non-family members and institutions. The will does not state whether these books were in print or manuscript, but additional evidence allows us to conclude that virtually all the books mentioned were printed works. Urne left a number of books to churches in Roskilde and Odense: 'to Our Lady's church a new manual [1]³³ and a new Gradual, good for 64 Mark [Danish?]' [2] [*till vor frue Kirke...en ny Messet Bog oc en ny Gradual, saa god som IIII. og LX. Mark*]. The book given to the church of Our Lady in Odense would have been the most suitable liturgical book in his collection for this purpose, a copy of the *Missale Othoniense* published in Lübeck by Lucas Brandis in 1483 and partially reprinted or updated in 1502 by Matthaeus Brandis in Odense under Urne's supervision. The use of the term 'new' (*ny*) may indicate a new printed edition of the Gradual. As no Danish Gradual was available, this reference may be a copy of an edition of the *Graduale Romanum*, and its exceptionally high price may reflect its value as a gift to the church, including binding and illumination, in return for Masses to be read for Hans Urne after his death.³⁴ Two books were given to the church of St Alban in Odense, a new Gradual [23] and a copy of a fifteenth-century edition of Astesanus de Ast's *Summa de casibus conscientiae* [29]. The master of the Latin school in Odense received a copy of the *Diurnale Lubicense* [22], apparently a copy of the edition originally printed about 1490 in Lübeck by Matthaeus Brandis for Hans van Ghetelen and reprinted by the same printer around 1502.³⁵

Urne bequeathed two unidentifiable books to monasteries in Odense: 'to the Franciscans in Odense...a book that might serve them, for Mass and worship to the Dominican monastery in Odense...a book called Cronica cum figuris, which might serve this monastery, for Mass and worship' [*till Predickebrødre Closter i Ottense...en Bog heder Cronica cum figuris, som dennem tiene kand, for Messe oc Guds Tienniste till Graabrødre vdi Ottense...en Bog, som dennem tiene kand, for Messe oc Guds Tienniste*] [3–4]. Master Jep Star received 'a book that might serve him' [*en Bog, som hannem tienn*] [21]. To judge from the near identical wording of the entries bequeathing works to the two monasteries, Hans Urne donated two copies of the same book, given in exchange for Masses, while the books themselves were of use to the members of both monasteries. The wording indicates an illustrated chronicle and points us to Hartmann Schedel's famous illustrated work *Liber cronicarum cum figuris*, published in Nuremberg by Anton

33 The numbers in square brackets indicate the order in which these works appear in Hans Urne's will.

34 See above chapter 2, pp. 114.

35 This identification was also proposed in 'Om Mester Hans Urne', 297.

Koberger in 1493.³⁶ Several copies of various editions of Schedel's work were part of Danish and Swedish private book collections, including that belonging to Kanutus Palnonis in Denmark.³⁷ A copy of the pirated edition produced by August Schönsperger in Augsburg in 1497 belonged to Johan van Klawen in Sweden.³⁸ The copy of the original edition of 1493 that once belonged to Hans Jeppson (Jeppesen) in Varde, Denmark, and another copy of Schönsperger's edition of 1497 that might have belonged to the university library at Copenhagen are now both lost. Urne might indeed have been another Scandinavian owner of Schedel's chronicle. Another book in his will, which lacks an indication of its title, may have been a liturgical handbook of some kind, again acquiring for the donor an unknown number of Masses for the sake of his soul.

After this small number of donations to religious institutions in Odense, Hans Urne turned to his family and friends. To his brother Lange (or Lauge), also a dean at Roskilde Cathedral and from 1512 bishop of Roskilde,³⁹ he bequeathed a large number of books of decidedly varied content:

To my dear brother Master Lange Urne dean in Roskilde...the whole body of the canonical law with all the books by Panormitanus also the five books of the Decretales and other books on legal matters, also books containing the Casus or Logicos with summaries and books of knowledge containing both modern and old civil and canonical law. And altogether I give him what books I had lent him before, wishing that these books and other books that I own should be kept for the use of our descendants, who have need of such books.⁴⁰

36 Geert Andersen, 'De trykte missaler', 93 n. 102. The *Rudimentum novitiarum*, printed in 1475 in Lübeck by Lucas Brandis, was an illustrated historiographical work wide spread in Scandinavia, and copies of this work were in possession of Uppsala Cathedral, the Dominican monastery in Gaunø on the Danish island of Sjælland, and the Benedictine monastery in Næstved, also in Denmark; this work is not, however, termed a chronicle.

37 A copy is now in Herlufsholms Skoles Bibliotek; Madsen, *Katalog*, no. T67.

38 Bequeathed in 1518 to the Dominican monastery at Strängnäs, now in the Royal Library Stockholm; Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 3513.

39 *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (Copenhagen 1984), 15:186–188.

40 [5] Min kiere Broder Mester Lange Urne Canike i Roiskild...totum Corpus Juris Canonici cum omnibus libris Panormitani [6] item quinque libros Decretalium [7] & cæteros libros iuridici [8] item libros continentes casus tam Logicos quam summaricos [9] & reliquos scientiam tam juris novi quam antiqui civilis & canonici continentes [10] Og sammeledis huad Bøger ieg haffde hannem tilforne lett med sa skiell, att de Bøger oc andre flere, som ieg haffuer, at de bliffue foruarede till voris effterkommendis Arffuinger, som saadanne Bøger behoff giøris; *Om Mester Hans Urne*, 293.

These lines from Urne's will convey a sense of the extent of his library, which must surely have been substantial. Entries 5 to 10 cover books that range from an unidentified collection of the whole body of canon law to Panormitanus de Tudeschis' *Lectura super V libris Decretalium* and Bernardus Parmensis' *Casus longi super quinque libros decretalium*. We have no figures for the size of the large part of his gift that contained an unknown number of books on legal matters – both old and new works on both civil and canon law – and logic. Finally, Urne bequeathed an unknown number of books that he had lent to his brother, presumably sometime earlier. The wording suggests that Urne considered at least part of his book collection worthy of remaining undivided in the hands of future generations of his family. He left the arrangements in the hands of his brother, but as far as we know, no such collection was established and passed down.

The individuals mentioned in the will included both family members – Urne's brother Johann,⁴¹ his brothers-in-law Thees Jensen, Christen Skram and Peder Brockenhus, his mother, Kirstine Urne, his sister Berte and his niece, Inger Urne's daughter – and others who were not family members, Tönne Tönneson, Margarete Vilhelms and Kirsten Oxe. In entries 11 to 20, Urne disposes of two German chronicles, seven chronicles without indication of language and three prayer books. Three of the five women noted in the will received a prayer book each. Hans Urne was no exception to the great interest in history amongst Danish readers, and all the men and four of the women received chronicles, indicative that such an interest in history was not thought gender specific. The two German chronicles mentioned may have been copies of a single book, the Low German *Chronica slavica* or *Wendesche kroneke* printed after 1485 in Lübeck by Matthaeus Brandis.⁴² It is impossible to establish from the wording of the will whether the seven chronicles and three prayer books were copies of a single chronicle and a single prayer book, although it seems unlikely that a private book owner would have included multiple copies of books with similar or identical content in his private library. The women mentioned in Urne's will may have been able to read German or Latin, but given the lively interest in Danish history around 1500 and Hans Urne's collaboration with Matthaeus Brandis, it seems likely that Urne was distributing copies of *Den denscke Kroneke*, the edition of Saxo Grammaticus published in Odense in 1501 and 1502 that he had commissioned.

41 Not all members of the Urne family received books. Another brother, Jörgen Urne, does not appear in Hans Urne's will, although he is the one who negotiated with the printer Matthaeus Brandis in 1505.

42 Another copy was probably part of the library of the Dominicans at Slesvig in 1519 but is now lost.

Urne's will included donations of schoolbooks and liturgical books to a number of institutions: 'Also to poor pupils in this town 200 books, such as Donates, Regulas, Fascenus, the three parts of Alexander in octavo, which books have been printed lately' [*Item fattige Pleblinge i denne Bye II. hundrede Bøger, som Donather, Regulas, Facenus, tres Partes Alexandri udi octava, hvilke Bøger som nyelig satt er*] [24]. Aelius Donatus' *Ars minor* with additions, including the *Regula Dominus quae pars. Oratio congrua dicta secundum mentem et intentionem Alexandri. Ad patrem*, was regularly used in Latin schools all over Europe.⁴³ The will explicitly mentions recently printed schoolbooks, and we can assume that the titles to which Urne was referring were books he had had Matthaeus Brandis print in 1502–1503. Five Diurnals were left to poor priests [25]. Urne also bequeathed thirty apparently identical liturgical handbooks to poor churches [26], books he would have purchased on the local book market or had printed for distribution after his death. The *Haandbøger* mentioned here might have been the second edition of the *Missale Ottoniense* printed in Odense around 1501,⁴⁴ although Geert Andersen holds that the books given to the poor churches were copies of the first edition of the *Agenda Ottoniense* partially reprinted by Matthaeus Brandis in 1501.⁴⁵ Both titles would have been suitable gifts for churches that might otherwise have struggled to replace older copies.

In the last part of his will, Urne lists individual gifts to specific churches in Denmark. This time there is no doubt that all the books mentioned belonged to his private collection. Entry 27 records, 'I also give to the library of Roskilde Cathedral a Speculum Vincentii in two large volumes' [*Item giffuer ieg til Roskild Dom Kirckes Liberiam Speculum historiale Vincentii in duobus magnis voluminibus*]. This book, the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, is the only work noted in Urne's will thought to have survived to today – the description corresponds in part with incunabulum 4161 in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, which consists of one volume only, containing parts three and four of an edition of the *Speculum historiale* printed by Adolf Rusch in Strasbourg at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ An annotation in the book records that it was in the possession of the Dominican monastery in Lund. Entry 28 reads 'Also to the [cathedral] library in Lund the *Pantheologia* in two large volumes' [*Item ad*

43 Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift*, 1:79ff; on the regional and local production of schoolbooks see p. 501.

44 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 184, formerly referred to as a missal for the diocese of Ribe and supposedly printed in Ribe or Slesvig in 1504. Grethe Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk 1482–1830: en bibliografi* (Copenhagen 1994–2001), 5:2–3. Geert Andersen, *De trykte missaler*, 81–82.

45 Geert Andersen, 'De trykte missaler', 81, although she does not provide evidence in support of her position. Ottosen, 'En typografisk undersøgelse', 380–387.

46 Madsen, *Katalog*, describes the binding as a contemporary Lübeck binding.

liberiam Lundensem Pantheologiam in duobus magnis voluminibus], a reference, most probably, to a fifteenth-century edition of Rainerius de Pisis' *Pantheologia sive Summa universae theologiae* that is now lost.

Hans Urne's will is an extraordinary document, but for the book historian it still has shortcomings. It gives neither the titles for all the books it lists nor sufficient information for all the works to be identified. The books on loan to Urne's brother are not specified, although some of the books from Urne's private library can be identified from his involvement in publishing. Urne's will disposes of at least 272 works, not including the books he had lent to his brother or the unquantified items in entries 7 to 10, a collection larger by far than any other recorded private book collection in pre-Reformation Scandinavia. Our knowledge of his private book collection and the books he commissioned gives us first-rate insight into a relatively little known part of the literary and cultural world of late medieval Denmark. We get a clear sense of the religious and cultural engagement through books of an educated and wealthy man of the church. Urne's networks consisted not only of a large number of literate and educated family members and acquaintances but also of religious institutions in Roskilde, Odense and Lund, and a printer from Lübeck with whom he collaborated closely. The will gives richer texture to the provincial literary infrastructure of Odense at the beginning of the sixteenth century that connected church, schools and the book market. Viewed from a different perspective, the collection demonstrates that the contemporary Danish book market was far from uniform, with varied level of access to printed works and segments that were still far from saturated. Urne's will is therefore an indicator of both the character of the contemporary Danish book trade and book culture and its economic limitations. Urne himself seems to have been very important to this market, with his connections with Lübeck and to the Brandis family evidence that printers or bishops were not the only publisher-patrons of his time. The customer base for books included not just scholars and teachers but also school pupils, priests and churches. Women possessed prayer books and chronicles, and highly positioned members of the church required new editions of canon laws and new commentaries. Hans Urne's engagement with books reached beyond his own circle as he sought to shape Denmark's book culture.

Norway

Extant books with Norwegian provenance are few and belonged mainly to institutions, primarily monasteries or churches. The small number of individual book owners and readers who can be identified were usually clerics. With medieval provenances as his starting point, Mattias Tveitane has written

of a literary culture in Bergen in the medieval period whose foundations appear to have been limited in size.⁴⁷ Although examination of medieval manuscript culture has been substantial, historical research has neglected elements of that book culture as it transitioned from manuscript to print and from being identifiably medieval and Catholic to being essentially early modern and Protestant. Symptomatic of this blind spot is Bagge's preoccupation with the foundations of Norwegian intellectual and literary culture around 1300, when, we learn, there were about 2000 clerics and monks in Norway.⁴⁸ Although the title of his work suggests Bagge addresses the period up to 1537, he says nothing of the number of Norwegians involved in literary culture two hundred years later.

Printed works such as letters of indulgence or papal bulls were not to be sold, but distributed amongst the faithful. Such works were produced by the thousand, but their chance of survival is less than slim: only one Norwegian letter of indulgence has survived. No copy of the bull issued by Pope Sixtus IV in 1483 and intended to be sold in Norway and Sweden has survived in Norway.⁴⁹

The list of provenances in Table 5.4 records printed books only; in other cases it is impossible to decide whether the book mentioned was printed or handwritten. In 1510 Gunnar Monsson, presumably a cleric at the church of St Mary in Oslo, owned four books comprising two theological works, which were 'Lumberticam', that is, a work by Peter Lombard, and 'Exposiciones ewangeliorum biblie', and two liturgical works, which were a breviary and a missal.⁵⁰ Other collections have vanished without leaving behind any detailed information about their content, such as the twenty-one books deposited with the Carthusians in Amsterdam by Erik Valkendorf, archbishop of Trondheim in the early sixteenth century, while he was on his way to Rome, which Valkendorf had probably bought in Amsterdam or during an earlier stage of his journey. Books belonging to his successor, Olav Engelbrektsson, were deposited with the bishop of Hammer before being sent to Trondheim, where we lose track of them.⁵¹ With so many losses and so little information on provenance, Norway's part in Scandinavian book culture is hard to discern. We know only of two books printed and a commission for a third and have only minor traces of book collections and readers. Yet perhaps what we see today are only a few slim pillars of a once impressive edifice.

47 Tveitane, *Bøker og litteratur*.

48 Bagge, 'Da boken kom til Norge', 19–21.

49 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 44–45.

50 Johnsen, 'Norske geistliges', 84.

51 *Ibid.*, 89.

TABLE 5.4 *Norwegian pre-Reformation provenances.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Angelus de Clavasio <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	Venice	Arrivabene	1492	[1] Saxo, magister and dean at Trondheim Cathedral, 1512 [2] Canutus Petri, cleric Trondheim, not later than 1539
Baptista Mantuanus <i>Parthenice secunda de passione virginis Catherinae</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1513	Geble Pederssøn, bishop; bought in the Netherlands ca. 1510–1517?
Bernhardus von Breydenbach <i>Opusculum sancta- rum peregrinatum ad sepulcrum Christi</i>	Spefyer	Drach	1490	Olav Thorkelsson, bishop in Bergen 1526
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Floretus</i>	Lyons	Mareschal	1499	Magnus Tostani, citizen of Oslo, not after 1552
<i>Biblia latina</i>	Nuremberg	Unknown	1491–1494	Laurentius Laurentii ⁵²
Despautère <i>De figuris liber</i>	Antwerp	Hillen	1521	Geble Pederssøn, bishop; bought on his journey to Rome 1523?
Gratianus <i>Decretum Gratiani</i>	Basel	Froben	1500	Niels Jørgensen, pastor of Alstahoug, 2nd half of the 16th century
Gregorius IX <i>Decretales</i>	Venice	Torresanus	1498	Hemych Buck ⁵³
Horatius <i>Ars poetica</i>	Deventer	Paffraet	1490	Geble Pederssøn, bishop; bought in the Netherlands ca. 1510–1517?
Horatius <i>Carmina</i>	Strasbourg	Schürer	1517	Geble Pederssøn, bishop; bought in the Netherlands ca. 1510–1517?

(Continued)

52 The binding is contemporary and was produced in Rostock. The attribution to Norway is not firm.

53 The attribution follows Madsen, *Katalog*, no. 1812.

TABLE 5.4 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date	Provenance
Jacobus de Voragine <i>Legenda aurea</i> [German] <i>Dat</i> <i>duytsche Passionaël</i>	Lübeck	Arndes	1492	Unknown, Bergen, after 1507 ⁵⁴
Mancinellus <i>Carmen de figuris</i>	Deventer	Theodoricus de Borne	1512	Geble Pederssøn, bishop; bought in the Netherlands ca. 1510–1517? ⁵⁵
Ovidius <i>Epistole heroidum</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1518	Geble Pederssøn, bishop; bought on his journey to Rome 1523?
Pius II <i>Epistolae familiares</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1481	[1] Gunnarus, magister and dean at Trondheim Cathedral, late 15th century [2] Henricus Nicolai, dean at Trondheim Cathedral, late 15th century
<i>Postilla</i>	Unknown	Unknown	1503	Olaves Aslessøn Swalle, Flesberg
Sabellico <i>In natalem diem... elegiae</i>	Deventer	Jacobus de Breda	1492	Geble Pederssøn, bishop; bought in the Netherlands ca. 1510–1517?
<i>St. Annen Büchlein</i>	Braunschweig	Dorn	1507	Unknown, Bergen, after 1507 ⁵⁶

54 The National Library of Sweden, Codex Holm. 3 contains the translation into Icelandic of 25 legends based upon this edition of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. The translation, made in Bergen, has been dated 1504–1506 but was most probably done after 1507. Without giving any reasons for his assertion other than the lack of copies in Norway today, Schöndorf rejects the idea that a copy of this edition would have been accessible in Norway at the time the translation was done; Schöndorf, 'Der Gebrauch volkssprachlicher Texte', 201.

55 Bishop Pederssøn's books were later transferred to the cathedral library in Bergen.

56 This north German work was another source for the Icelandic translator of Codex Holm. 3. Its printing date adds weight to the argument that the translation was done after 1507; Schöndorf, 'Der Gebrauch volkssprachlicher Texte', 203.

Sweden

Contemporary information about the existence and content of libraries owned by Swedish rulers and nobility is very scarce. We know of no works that formed what might be termed a royal book collection before the middle of the sixteenth century. Preserved catalogues give no indication whether later collections included older printed books. People may have talked about books they owned, but they evidently almost never wrote about them. The sole exception in Sweden is a passage in a letter in Swedish dated 9 March 1524 from Bishop Hans Brask in Linköping to Margareta, sister of the newly elected Swedish king Gustavus Vasa.⁵⁷ Bishop Brask starts by expressing his gratitude to Margareta Vasa for sending him an unidentified medical book.⁵⁸ He then refers to his latest visit to Stegeborg Castle, in the vicinity of Söderköping, and the literary conversations he had had there with Margareta. Apparently they had talked of so many German and Swedish books that Margareta desired to acquire that afterwards Brask was unable to recall all of them. Perhaps the German *Passionale*, which, Brask writes, he intends to send Margareta, was one of the works they discussed. Both parties were surely in contact with booksellers in Stockholm and Söderköping.⁵⁹

The number of works with noble provenance from pre-Reformation Sweden far exceeds the number of such works from Denmark. The library of the Bonde family in Ericsberg Castle contained a copy of the *Psalterium Upsalense* of 1510. The library of the Brahe family in Skokloster Castle, who counted St Birgitta as one of their ancestors, contained another copy of the *Psalterium Upsalense* as well as a copy of the *Breviarium Strengnense* of 1495. Knut Nilsson Sparre of

57 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, 249–250, no. 182: ‘We thank you for the medical book we have received (...) During our last conversation at Stegeborg we talked about so many German and Swedish books that we cannot fully remember which books you desired, so we send you by return of post a German *Passionale* to pass this holy time we are in now’ [Vi tacke eder...för then läkesbok vi nu finge (...) Tha vi vore senest til samtal pa Stegeborg var pa tall om monge böker tydzsche oc swensche saa at oss ey fullelica drager til minnes ther om edra begäre doch sende vi eder nu med thetta samme bud eth tyst passional til tiid fördriiff i thenne helge tiid nu är inne].

58 Contemporary printed medical books contain, among others, works by Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Cornelius Celsus, Johannes de Ketham and Ortolff von Bayerlandt, but I have been unable to document any copies of these texts printed before 1526. The anonymously printed *Hortus sanitatis* and *Regimen sanitatis* do appear, however, on the Malmö List of books imported by Christiern Pedersen only a few years earlier.

59 During the first half of the 1490s alone, 6 shipments of books travelled from Lübeck to Stockholm and one to Söderköping.

Wijk, a councillor of state, owned a copy of Arndes' Low German version of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. From the library of the Banér family, which contained large numbers of medieval books with evidence of their provenance, came a copy of Peter Lombard's *Sententiarum libri* edited by Koberger in either 1491 or 1500 that had once belonged to a nobleman called Nils in Fjäderås.⁶⁰ A small number of preserved provenances tell of ownership by female members of the nobility. Five incunabula can be attributed to Ingeborg Åkesdotter Tott (1440–1507), who was married to Sten Sture the Elder, regent of Sweden at the end of the fifteenth century. All five works were in Latin and they included the *Chronicon* and the *Summa theologica* by Antoninus Florentinus, Lombard's *Perlustratio in libros sententiarum*, Nider's *Praeceptorium legis* and finally Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. The works by Nider and Lombard were given to the Carthusian monastery Gripsholm in Mariefred, probably in return for Masses to be sung on behalf of the souls of the donors. The work by Nider contains the inscription 'Frowe Ingeborg & Uxor Sten Sture requiescant in pace, ubi pacis Materiae',⁶¹ and that by Lombard contains not only a similar inscription, 'Frouwe Ingeborg dedit vxor sten stur requiescat in pace', but also a second provenance, 'Liber Domus pacis marie in Gripszholm'.⁶² The books by Anoninus Florentinus and Petrus Comester were gifts to the Carthusians in Mariefred.⁶³ Even if these books did not belong to Ingeborg Åkesdotter's private book collection, they were all available to her on the Stockholm book market, as part of the literary culture that surrounded her. Unfortunately we cannot identify a work that undoubtedly belonged to Åkesdotter, let alone a work she definitely read, but that the aforementioned books were all in Latin is in keeping with her role as promoter of religion and books and as wife of the regent of Sweden. Svante Sture, Sten Sture's successor as regent, also engaged in the promotion of godly works. He commissioned the printing of the second edition of Alanus de Rupe's *Psalterium Virginis Mariae* in Lübeck in 1506.

Additional religious books were in the possession of other Swedish noble women. Anna Bielke (Anna Pedersdotter Hård of Segerstad at Händelö) owned a Low German devotional work printed in Lübeck: Ghotan's *Speygel aller doghede* of 1485.⁶⁴ Two women successively owned a copy of Arndes' 1499 Low

60 *Förteckning å böcker*, Folio 196–197, now in Varberg Museum, Sweden.

61 Quensel, *Catalogus librorum*, 98.

62 Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 3077.

63 Ibid., no. 261, 292. Madsen, *Katalog*, no. 3159.

64 A fragment of Matthaeus Brandis' *De erroribus et moribu christianorum* of 1488 was found inside its cover.

German edition of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*: Margareta Lagesdotter Brock, a member of the Sparre family – she loaned the book to her son, Knut Nilsson Sparre, according to his annotation – and Pernilla Nilsdotter in Wijk, a member of the Oxenstierna family. The book was part of the Banér library for centuries before being sold in 1876.

The character of printed works in Sweden varied. Some were not part of the commercial book trade; others that were sold were not meant to be read like literary works, such as letters of indulgence. An Olaus Petrus and his wife Ingeborg from Uppsala purchased a letter of indulgence on 6 January 1490. On 7 January 1490, Matthias called Famulus (he may have been an attendant to a nobleman) also acquired a letter of indulgence. Either Olaus Petrus himself or his namesake Petrus Olaus owned a copy of Guilelmus de Gouda's *Expositio mysteriorum missae* published in Strasbourg in 1509. The indulgence that provoked Martin Luther's famous protest was also sold in Scandinavia. In 1518, Ericus Olai, lecturer in theology at the University of Uppsala, and his mother Helena acquired a letter of indulgence printed by Paul Grijs in Uppsala. The letter of indulgence acquired by Knut Bulth in Uppsala is dated 13 March 1518.

Non-nobles also owned books in Latin. Around 1500 Cristoff Cristiernus, master glazier in Stockholm, owned a copy of Petrus Berchorius' *Dictionarius sive Repertorium morale* printed in Nuremberg in 1489. Printers often owned books. Paul Grijs, who was a printer in Uppsala in the early sixteenth century, is known to have owned the *Interpretationes somniorum Danielis*. A Bartholomaeus who is called 'Bürger' – he was evidently a citizen of Uppsala – sold his copy of Aquinas' *Summa theologica*, printed in Venice in 1477, to Laurentius Laurentii on behalf of Uppsala Cathedral Library; Bartholomaeus was perhaps a bookseller. Michil Schmied owned a *Epistola de miseria curatorum* printed in Leipzig in 1489. Heinrich van der Hecke, a citizen of Stockholm and perhaps a merchant, owned Zacharias Chrysopolita's *Concordantia evangeliorum*, published in Strasbourg in 1473, which seems to have come into his possession before 1493. Gertrud, wife of another citizen of Stockholm, Ernst Van der Hytte, owned a Zwolle edition of sermons by St Bonaventura. Several years later, a copy of the *Satyrae* by Persius Flaccus printed in Lyons in 1500 appeared in Stockholm with an inscription by Peter Rasmusson.

Nuns in the Brigittine monastery in Vadstena – we know by name Christina Hansdotter Brask and Ingegerd Ambjörnsdotter – owned printed pictures and used them in preparing handwritten prayer books (see chapter 6, pp. 282–283). Their possession of books is, however, rarely documented; one of only few examples is the copy of Robertus de Caracciolus' *Opus de poenitentia* printed in Basel in 1475 that was donated to Vadstena monastery by Christina Henriksdotter around 1500.

Swedish cathedrals were focal points in the network of books and readers, and there we encounter academic theologians, agents involved in the purchase of books and clerics associated with the cathedral chapter and the university. Table 5.5 presents the first compilation of books at the see of the archbishop of Uppsala, associated with both cathedral and university.

TABLE 5.5 *Books belonging to members of Uppsala cathedral chapter and/or the university.*

Author/title	Place	Date	Provenance
Ephrem Syrus <i>Sermones</i>	Freiburg	1491	Andreas, provost and dean
Anglicus <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	Heidelberg?	1488	Ericus Eri, financial administrator
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	1492	Ericus Eri, financial administrator
Gerson <i>Opera</i>	Strasbourg	1514	Ericus Eri, financial administrator
Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli</i>	Strasbourg	1478	Ericus Johannis (d. 1512), financial administrator
Anglicus <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	Heidelberg?	1488	Ericus Johannis (d. 1512), financial administrator
Caracciolus <i>Opus de poenitentia</i>	Basel	1475	Ericus Johannis (d. 1512), financial administrator
Herolt <i>Sermones discipuli</i>	Strasbourg	1478	Ericus Johannis (d. 1512), financial administrator
<i>Speculum exemplorum</i>	Hagenau	1512	Ericus Mathiae, canon
Petrus de Bergamo <i>Tabula super... Thomae de Aquino</i>	Venice	1497	Ericus Nicolai Swarth, professor of theology at Uppsala University
Hugo de Sancto Victore <i>De sacramentis christianae fidei</i>	Strasbourg	1485	Ericus Olai, professor at theology at Uppsala University
<i>Breviarium Arosiense</i>	Basel	1513	Henrik Sleedorn, canon
Denyse <i>Sermones de sanctis et de festivitibus</i>	Hagenau	1510	Henrik Sleedorn, canon
Donatus <i>De octo partibus orationis</i>	Stockholm	1487	Henrik Sleedorn, canon
Aquinas <i>Summa theologica</i> . P. 2:2	Mainz	1467	Ingvar, provost

(Continued)

TABLE 5.5 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Date	Provenance
Conradus de Alemania <i>Concordantiae bibliorum</i>	Strasbourg	Unknown	Jacobus Gislonis, professor at Uppsala University, not after 1490
Gerson <i>Aff dyäffwlsens frästilse</i>	Stockholm	1495	Jakob Ulvsson, archbishop
Jacobus de Voragine <i>Legenda aurea</i>	Lyons?	1512	Johannes Eek, dean
Angelus de Clavasio <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	Nuremberg	1492	Johannes Eriki, canon
Hugo de Sancto Victore <i>De sacramentis christianae fidei</i>	Strasbourg	1485	Kanutus Johannis, doctor at Uppsala University
Lombardus <i>Sententiarum</i>	Nuremberg	1481	Laurentius Haquini, provost
Aquinas <i>Commentum in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis</i>	Venice	1480	Laurentius Laurentii, financial administrator
Aquinas <i>Summa theologica</i>	Venice	1477	Laurentius Laurentii, financial administrator
Aristoteles <i>Copulata novae logicae</i>	Cologne	1489	Laurentius Laurentii, provost
Ephrem Syrus <i>De compunctione cordis et resurrectione</i>	Basel	Unknown	Laurentius Laurentii, provost
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Rhetorica divina</i>	Basel	Unknown	Laurentius Laurentii, provost
Marchesinus <i>Mammotrectus super Bibliam</i>	Cologne	1479	Laurentius Laurentii, provost
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia scholastica</i>	Strasbourg	1485	Laurentius Laurentii, provost
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia scholastica</i>	Strasbourg	1485	Laurentius Laurentii, provost
Lombardus <i>Sententiarum</i>	Nuremberg	1481	Laurentius Martini, canon
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Basel	1474	Magnus Andreae, provost
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque iure</i>	Strasbourg	1494	Magnus Andreae, provost
Gregorius IX. <i>Decretalium libri V</i>	Nuremberg	1496	Magnus Johannes
Albertus Magnus <i>Sermones notabiles de tempore et sanctis</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Mathias (d. 1495), dean

(Continued)

TABLE 5.5 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Date	Provenance
Caecilius Cyprianus <i>Epistolae</i>	Deventer	1479	Mathias (d. 1495), dean
Paulus de S. Maria <i>Scrutinium scriptuarum</i>	Mainz	1478	Mathias (d. 1495), dean
Turrecremata <i>Expositio super toto psalterio</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Mathias (d. 1495), dean
Birgitta <i>Revelationes</i>	Lübeck	1492	Nicholaus Gerardus
Bonaventura <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	Zwolle	1479	Nicholaus Gerardus
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Basel	1474	Olaus (Olavus) Petri
Alanus de Rupe <i>Psalterium Virginis Mariae: De dignitate beatae virginis Mariae</i>	Mariefred	1498	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
Durandus <i>Rationale divinatorum officiorum</i>	Speyer	Unknown	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Postilla super epistolas et evangelia</i>	Strasbourg	1485	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
Jacobus Magni <i>Sophologium</i>	Strasbourg	Unknown	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
Jordanus de Quedlinburg <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Strasbourg	1484	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque iure</i>	Cologne	1485	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
Paraldus <i>Summa de vitiis</i>	Basel	Unknown	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
Petrus de Aquila <i>Quaestiones in libros sententiarum</i>	Speyer	Unknown	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
Versor <i>Quaestiones super de coelo Aristotelis</i>	Cologne	1486	Olaus Johannis Gutho, provost
<i>Modus legendi...in utroque iure</i>	Cologne	1485	Olavus Johannis Gutho, student, about 1500
Petrus de Aquila <i>Quaestiones in libris sententiarum</i>	Speyer	Unknown	Olavus Johannis Gutho, student, about 1500
Conradus de Alemania <i>Concordantiae biblicorum</i>	Strasbourg	Unknown	Ragvaldus Ingemundi, archdeacon

The impressive list of provenances in Table 5.5 is assembled from Swedish incunabula catalogues and from Quensel's catalogue of Uppsala University Library. Apart from one title in Swedish, which is at the same time the only title demonstrably acquired by Archbishop Jakob Ulvsson, all books are in Latin, and almost all are theological, legal and academic works that met the professional needs of the chapter and the university. Ericus Nicolai Swarth, Ericus Olai, Jacobus Gislonis and Kanutus Johannis were professors, and Olavus Johannis Gutho a student at the university. Two administrative functions stand out from all other professions mentioned in the list: in the first place that of the financial administrator of the cathedral, a position held by Ericus Eriki, Ericus Johannis and Laurentius Laurentii, and in second place that of provost or archdeacon, next in rank to the bishop, a position held by Andreas, Ingvar, Laurentius Haquini, Laurentius Laurentii, Magnus Andreae, Olaus Johannis Gutho and Ragvaldus Ingemundi.

Linköping was the second most important episcopal see in Sweden, after Uppsala, and was especially significant at the end of the pre-Reformation period. Bishop Hans Brask (1464–1538), the last Catholic bishop of Linköping, partly inherited and partly acquired a central position in Swedish spiritual, ecclesiastical and political life.⁶⁵ Brask appears to have been a keen book collector, although most of his books of which we know today were liturgical, as can be read in Table 5.6.

Hans Brask appears in several chapters of this book because of the various roles he played in Swedish book history. For many years he was bishop in Linköping and a spiritual supervisor to Vadstena monastery. He commissioned the printing of liturgical books and established his own printing shop in Söderköping, exchanged books with the king's sister, fought against the Lutheran heresy, and his knowledge of books and literature was generally current. Only three of the books below were likely privately owned by Brask: Justinians' *Digestum infortiatum*, now in Copenhagen, Justinus' *Digestum vetus cum glossa*, now in Strängnäs, and the copy of a Low German edition of the romance *Paris et Vienne*,⁶⁶ a surprisingly low number and small selection in light of Brask's extensive and highly engaged literary involvement and his academic background.

I have been able to identify only ten provenances and fourteen titles for individuals likely associated with Strängnäs Cathedral (Table 5.7). These men

65 Stobaeus, *Hans Brask*. A short biography is part of *Hans Brask: Latinsk korrespondens 1523*, ed. Hedda Roll (Stockholm 1973), 2–3.

66 Axel Mante, *Paris und Vienna: eine niederdeutsche Fassung vom Jahre 1488* (*Universitätsbibliothek, Uppsala, Inc.* 34:58) (Lund 1965), XXXVI–XXXVIII, XLIII–XLVI.

TABLE 5.6 *Books belonging to members of Linköping cathedral chapter.*

Author/title	Place	Date	Provenance
<i>Aristoteles Copulata novae logicae</i>	Cologne	1489	Gustav Trolle, provost
<i>Breviarium Lincopense</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Hans Brask
<i>Breviarium Lundense</i>	Paris	1517	Hans Brask
<i>Errores atrocissimorum Ruthenorum</i>	Cologne	1506–1508	Hans Brask
Henry VII <i>Assertio septem</i>	Rome	1521	Hans Brask
Justinianus <i>Digestum infortiatum</i>	Venice	1497	Hans Brask
<i>Justinianus Digestum vetus</i>	Venice	1494	Johannes Brasche
Justinus <i>Digestum vetus cum glossa</i>	Venice	1494	Hans Brask
Unknown medical book	Unknown	Unknown	Hans Brask
<i>Missale Lundense</i>	Paris	1514	Hans Brask
<i>Missale Upsalense</i>	Basel	1513	Hans Brask
<i>Paris et Vienne</i> [Low German]	Antwerp	1488	Hans Brask
<i>Passional</i> [German]	Lübeck?	Unknown	Hans Brask
Pedersen <i>Vor Frue Tider</i>	Paris	1514	Hans Brask

TABLE 5.7 *Books belonging to members of Strängnäs cathedral chapter.*

Author/title	Place	Date	Provenance
Durandus <i>Rationale divin. Officiorum</i>	Nuremberg	1480	Botvid Suneson, bishop
Josephus <i>Historia de antiquitate judaica</i>	Lübeck	1476	Gotmannus Rawenszberg, dean
Bartholomaeus Pisanus <i>Supplementum summae Pisanellae</i>	Cologne	1479	Helgo Petri (d. 1494), canon and provost
<i>Formularium procuratorum</i>	Basel	1489	Helgo Petri (d. 1494), canon and provost
Panoormitanus <i>Lectura super 20 decretalium</i>	Nuremberg	1486	Helgo Petri (d. 1494), canon and provost
Panormitanus <i>Lectura super V libris decretalium</i>	Nuremberg	1486	Helgo Petri (d. 1494), canon and provost

(Continued)

TABLE 5.7 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Date	Provenance
Reuchlin <i>Vocabularius breviloquus</i>	Cologne	1479	Helgo Petri (d. 1494), canon and provost
Schedel <i>Liber chronicarum</i>	Augsburg	1497	Johan van Klawen
Turrecremata <i>Quaestiones evangeliorum tam de tempore quam de sanctis et flos theologiae</i>	Deventer	1484	Johannes Ragvaldus, canon
Salis <i>Summa casuum conscientiae</i>	Nuremberg	1488	Johannes Swarts Akonis, archdeacon
Nicolaus de Ausmo <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i>	Venice	1474	Konrad Rogge, bishop
Panormitanus <i>Lectura super quarto et quinto Decretalium</i>	Rome	1475	Olaus (Olavus) Andrea, canon
<i>Scriptores rei rusticae</i>	Venice	1472	Reinhold Raguald, provost
Durandus <i>Rationale divinarum officiorum</i>	Nuremberg	1480	Suno Johannis

represent only a small number of the members and officials of the chapter, and indeed we cannot be entirely certain that Johan van Klawen and Suno Johannis were members of the Strängnäs cathedral chapter.

Alongside the ubiquitous law books are three less predictable entries, with Schedel's chronicle making an even rarer appearance than Josephus and the anonymous *Scriptores rei rusticae*. This last title is a modest witness to the reception of classical literature within humanist circles in pre-Reformation Sweden.

Two members of Västerås Cathedral are associated with two titles each. Dean Nicolaus owned two legal works, Boniface VIII's *Liber sextus decretalium* and Clement V's *Constitutiones*, both printed by Tortis in Venice in 1484. After his death in 1535, Archdeacon Matthias Hansson bequeathed an unknown number of books with the help of a certain Johannes Grå. Two titles from his private collection have survived, Thomas Aquinas' *Super metaphysicam Aristotelis* (Venice 1502) and Dominucus de Flandria's *Quaestiones* (Venice 1499);⁶⁷ they are bound together and bear the common inscription 'After the

67 Västerås Stadsbibliotek, inc. 49. Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 1377.

death of archdeacon Matthias, this book together with other books was given to me by Johannes Grå so that it should be available for every reader right at the beginning of the library'.⁶⁸ None of the other books has survived or, if they have, they lack inscriptions that tie them to Hanson's donation. Thanks to Åke Åberg, we know that the anonymous annotator was the librarian of Västerås Cathedral, who surely curated more than the few books that are extant today. Again we have the impression that we are seeing only remnants of a formerly substantial presence.

The Books Belonging to Clemens Henricus Rytingh

Knowledge of the books that belonged to Clemens Henricus Rytingh provides us with unique insight into the movement of books among individuals and institutions that were part of Swedish pre-Reformation book culture. Rytingh was a member of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm, where he was elected to the positions of prior and curator.⁶⁹ He was academically educated and lectured at Uppsala University from 1480.⁷⁰ We know principally from three lists of books dated by Collijn to between 1484 and about 1487 that he owned at least sixty-eight books, of which only three were in manuscript. Each of these three lists appeared within printed books, but the books themselves did not appear on the lists they contained. Collijn worked to identify titles and trace surviving copies in Uppsala University Library and the National Library of Sweden. Here I highlight the network within which Rytingh's books were deposited, loaned and donated.

The first list (A) is dated 1484 or at the latest early 1485. It seems to have come about in connection with Rytingh's move from Skara, probably to Stockholm. It covers printed books, manuscripts as well as personal belongings including pictures ('6j tabulas pictas') and bed linen. Most significant for this study is the record of twenty-eight printed titles in twenty-six volumes.⁷¹ Rytingh personally left fourteen books in the hands of Gudmundus Benedicti, provost at Skara Cathedral and a member of the Dominican monastery at

68 Åberg, *Västerås*, 87: no IX:4: 'Post mortem Matthiae archidiaconi hic liber mihi allatus per dominum Joannem Grå cum aliis exemplaribus legenti patebit statim in ipso principio librorum'.

69 The papal document of 1480 which promoted Rytingh to the position of lecturer in theology at Uppsala University calls him a member of the house at Stockholm, 'Fr. Clemens Henrici alias Ryttingh conuentus Stocholmensis fuit assignatus ad legendum sententias pro forma et gradu magisterij in vniversitate Vpsalensi. Datum Rome xxv Februarii'; Collijn, *Svenska boksamlingar*, 2:126.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., 2:128.

Skara, of which it is possible Rytingh was still a member.⁷² Eleven books were given to Laurentius Magnus, one of the leading members of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm at the end of the fifteenth century. An otherwise unknown Clemens Benedictus who received another of Rytingh's books, might have been one of his confreres. Rytingh gave one book to each of the Dominican monasteries in Stockholm and Västerås.

The second book list (B) is dated 23 April 1485. It tells not of a donation of any kind, but of a loan by Rytingh to Skara Cathedral Library. The circumstances of this loan are unknown. This second list records eighteen titles in twenty-two volumes. Two thirds of these books also appear on list A and are works donated to Gudmundus Benedicti, then provost of Skara Cathedral, although not all the books given to Benedicti in 1484 also appear on this later list. Benedicti appears at the end of the document, where it is stated that he had borrowed Balbus' *Catholicon*.⁷³ Two other books that Rytingh had lent to Dominus Matias Sueta, Albertus Magnus' *Sermones* and Juan de Torquemada's *Expositio super toto psalterio*, were to be regarded as loans to Skara Cathedral Library,⁷⁴ although Rytingh later called off the loan and disposed of these books differently, rather than lend them to the cathedral. Single books and collections of books moved freely and quite quickly between members of a scholarly and literary network; in Rytingh's case that network was monastic, and specifically Dominican, while Hans Urne lent out a large number of books to his brother.

The third and last list (C) is from around 1487. Its purpose was to document the books in the possession of Rytingh, who was at the time a member of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm.⁷⁵ It contains thirty-eight titles in thirty-four volumes, including a majority of the books previously lent to Skara Cathedral Library (11 books) and Gudmundus Benedicti (9 books). The titles on list C represent both new acquisitions made since 1484/1485 and parts of Rytingh's library that had not been involved in earlier transactions involving loans and donations.

Rytingh had apparently replaced only a few of the titles that he had previously given away, although he had acquired a second copy of Albertus Magnus' *Mariale* as well as another copy of the *Sermones de tempore* by Brundelsheim. Some of the books on list C continued to circulate within the ecclesiastical circles in which Rytingh himself moved. Two books were later integrated into

72 Ibid., 2:129.

73 Inventory number B 17; Collijn, *Svenska boksamlingar*, 2:133.

74 Inventory numbers B 15–16; Collijn, *Svenska boksamlingar*, 2:133.

75 Collijn, *Svenska boksamlingar*, 2:135: 'Libri infra scripti sunt fratris Clementis Rytingh ordinis predicatorum lectoris Stokholmensis'.

Vadstena monastery library: Busch's *Speculum exemplorum* and the sermons of Hugo de Prato Florido.⁷⁶ Another title was earmarked for Uppsala Cathedral, Leonardus de Utino's *Sermones de sanctis*.⁷⁷ Part two of Brundelsheim's collection of sermons (B11) may be the copy of this work noted in the third list (C14). The copy of Johannes de Tambaco's *Liber de consolatione theologiae* that appears in both lists (B5 and C23) does not seem to be the copy of that work now preserved in Uppsala University Library, which had once belonged to Laurentius Magnus.⁷⁸ The copy of Albertus Magnus' *Mariale* that had been given to Laurentius Magnus in Stockholm (A3) may have been replaced with a new copy (C28).⁷⁹

Each of the three book lists A–C was found inside a separate volume containing one or more incunables. List A was found inside a copy of Holkot's *Opus super sapientiam Salomonis* printed in Speyer by Drach in 1483; the same title – and perhaps the same copy – appears on list B as number 14. A copy of Busch's *Speculum exemplorum* contains list B; the same title – and perhaps the same copy – appears on list C as number 11. Molitor's *Tabula* containing book list C does not appear on any of Rytingh's book lists, and neither do three other books, works by Albertus Magnus, Cyprianus and Bernoldus. One of these volumes, which contains Pafraet's editions of Albertus Magnus' *Compendium theologiae* and Bernoldus' *Distinctiones*, seems to have been part of the library of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm and then of King John III's college in Stockholm; together with other works from King Sigismund's private library, it was later donated to Uppsala University Library. The provenance of the last book, which contains the letters of Cyprianus, can be traced quite reliably. Printed around 1479 according to an annotation in Rytingh's own hand, it was acquired by Rytingh after his appointment as lecturer in theology; the inscription reads 'Liber Fratris Clementis Rytinck ordinis predicatorum sacre theologie lectoris'.⁸⁰ Rytingh may have given this work to a subsequent owner, Mathias, dean at Uppsala Cathedral from 1487. Dean Mathias may be the 'Dominus Matias' who appears on list B.⁸¹

These three consecutive lists do not cover all the works owned by Clemens Henricus Rytingh, and we cannot talk of a single book collection contained in

76 Ibid., 2:137.

77 Ibid., 2:133–134: 'qui post mortem eiusdem domini fratris clementis pertinet ecclesie vpsalensj'.

78 Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 2224, copy Uppsala inc. 853 A.

79 Collijn, *Svenska boksamlingar*, 2:137.

80 Ibid., 2:140.

81 Ibid., 2:133.

these lists. Such sources have an inbuilt imprecision. They may not provide details of individual works or collections already known to the parties involved nor cover later acquisitions. Some works or books were simply left off the list when it was drawn up, perhaps forgotten. Some books appear on two or even three of the lists; others are known to be missing, such as the very book that contained the third list. The compilation of sixty-five of Rytingh's books in Table 5.8 should be considered an approximation of the works that were owned by Rytingh within a short period of only five years in the 1480s; it does not list his complete library.

TABLE 5.8 *Books belonging to Clemens Rytingh.*

Author/title	Inv. no.	Content
Hugo de Sancto Caro <i>Postilla super IV evangelia</i>	C 4	Bible
Lyra <i>Glossae in universa biblia</i>	C 5	Bible
Lyra <i>Moralia super totam bibliam</i>	C 6	Bible
Lyra <i>Repertorium in postillam Nicolai de Lyra</i>	C 7	Bible
Marchesini <i>Mammotrectus super bibliam</i>	A 20. B 9. C 19	Bible
Petrus Comestor <i>Historia scholastica</i>	A 5	Bible
Albertus Magnus <i>Super mulierem fortem</i>	A 26. B 18	Biographical
Hieronymus <i>Vitae patrum</i>	A 4	Biographical
<i>Vita Katherine</i>	C 33	Biographical
Albertus Magnus <i>Sermones notabiles de tempore et sanctis</i>	A 27. B 15	Catechetical
Alphonsus de Spina <i>Fortalicium fidei contra hostes fidei christianae</i>	A 30. B 8	Catechetical
Angelus de Clavasio <i>Summa angelica(?)</i>	A 29	Catechetical
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Confessionale</i>	C 32	Catechetical
Bartholomaeus Pisanus de S. Concordio <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	B 7. C 25	Catechetical
Bernardus Claravallensis <i>Sermones</i>	A 1	Catechetical
Bernoldus <i>Distinctiones de tempore et de sanctis</i>		Catechetical
Busch <i>Speculum exemplorum</i>	C 11	Catechetical
Caesarius Cisterciensis <i>Dialogus miraculorum</i>	A 31. B 12	Catechetical
Caracciolus <i>Quadragesimale</i>	A 7	Catechetical
Conradus (Soccus) de Brundelsheim <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	A 21. B 10. C 15	Catechetical

(Continued)

TABLE 5.8 (Continued)

Author/title	Inv. no.	Content
Conradus (Soccus) de Brundelsheim <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	B 11	Catechetical
Conradus (Soccus) de Brundelsheim <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	C 14	Catechetical
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	A 24. B 3. C 12	Catechetical
Herolt <i>Liber de eruditione Christifidelium</i>	C 34	Catechetical
Hugo de Prato Florido <i>Sermones de tempore super evangelia et epistolas</i>	B 13. C 31	Catechetical
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	A 22. B 6. C 13	Catechetical
Nider <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	C 16	Catechetical
Petrus de Palude <i>Sermones thesauri novi de tempore et de sanctis</i>	C 26	Catechetical
Udine <i>Quadragesimale aureum</i>	A 23. B 4. C 27	Catechetical
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum historiale</i>	A 17. B 1. C 8	Catechetical
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum morale</i>	C 10	Catechetical
Albertus Magnus <i>Mariale s. de laudibus beatae virginis Mariae</i>	A 3	Devotional
Albertus Magnus <i>Mariale s. de laudibus beatae virginis Mariae</i>	C 28	Devotional
Bonaventura <i>Vita Christi s. meditationes vitae Jesu Christi</i>	A 2	Devotional
Johannes de Tambaco <i>Liber de consolatione theologiae</i>	B 5. C 23	Devotional
<i>Passionarius cum additamentis</i>	C 38	Devotional
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Liber laudem virginis gloriosae(?)</i>	C 37	Devotional
Thomas Cantipratensis <i>Bonum universale de proprietatibus apum(?)</i>	C 21	Ecclesiastical
Turrecremata <i>De potestate papae et concilii generalis</i>	C 29	Ecclesiastical
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon s. opus historiarum</i>	C 1	History
Rolevinck <i>Fasciculus temporum</i>	C 20	History

(Continued)

TABLE 5.8 (Continued)

Author/title	Inv. no.	Content
<i>Psaltaren</i>	A 28	Liturgical
Albertus Magnus <i>Compendium theologiae veritatis</i>		Medieval theology
Bernardus Claravallensis <i>Homeliae super evangelio</i>	C 36	Medieval theology
<i>Missus est angelus Gabriel</i>		Medieval theology
Petrus Bergomensis <i>Tabula super omnia opera Thomae Aqvinatis</i>	A 8	Medieval theology
Chrysostomus(?)	C 35	Patristic theology
Cyprianus <i>Epistolae</i>		Patristic theology
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>	A 19. B 17. C 18	Pedagogical
Donatus <i>Expositio super Donatum, De octo partibus orationis</i>	A 11	Pedagogical
Johannes de San Gemiano <i>Summa de exemplis et similitudinibus rerum</i>	C 24	Pedagogical
Conradus de Alemania <i>Responsorium curiosorum</i>	A 15	Philosophy
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum naturale</i>	C 9	Sciences
Alexander de Villa Dei <i>Expositio super Doctrinale</i>	A 10	Theology
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	A 18. B 2. C 2	Theology
Aquinas <i>Catena aurea s. Continuum in quatuor evangelistas</i>	C 3	Theology
Bonaventura <i>Diaeta salutis</i>	A 6	Theology
Gerson <i>Opera. P. 1–4</i>	C 22	Theology
Holkot <i>Opus super sapientiam Salomonis</i>	B 14	Theology
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Expositio super toto psalterio</i>	B 16	Theology
Molitor <i>Tabula super Summa theologica Antonini</i>		Theology
Nider <i>Praeceptorium legis s. expositio decalogi</i>	C 17	Theology
Paulus Burgensis de S. Maria <i>Dialogus qui vocatur Scrutinium scripturarum</i>	A 9	Theology
Albertus Magnus <i>Unknown title</i>	C 30	Unknown
Conradus de Almania(?) <i>Unknown title</i>	A 12	Unknown
Unknown	A 16	Unknown

In terms of content, Rytingh's books do not stand out from other theological collections of the same period. Other than two history books, Conradus de Alemania's philosophical *Responsorium curiosorum* and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale*, Rytingh possessed only works that reflected his theological interests and professional needs as a monk and priest. The collection contained biblical commentaries and repertories but apparently no edition of the Bible itself. The principal part of Rytingh's collection is made up of catechetical works by both authors frequently encountered such as Albertus Magnus, Angelus de Clavasio, Bernard of Clairvaux and Herolt and authors who were apparently less popular in Scandinavia, such as Johannes Gritsch, Johannes Busch and Conradus Soccus de Brundelsheim. Theological books make up about one quarter of this list, with the majority by high medieval and late medieval authors. The only liturgical book on the list is an unidentified psalter, yet this work would surely not have been the only liturgical book Rytingh owned or could access during his lifetime. Liturgical books were often owned by religious institutions rather than by individuals. Among the few pedagogical titles we find bestsellers such as Donatus and Balbus' *Catholicon*.

Rytingh's collection seems to have been large and valuable. At the time list A was drawn up, Rytingh had returned from his studies. He had begun lecturing at Uppsala University at the beginning of the 1480s and was a member of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm. Within only a few years of the appearance of the first booksellers in Sweden and the establishment of printing, Rytingh, like other Swedish customers, seems to have had access to a large variety of authors and titles. He seems also to have benefitted from the growing appeal of the Swedish book market, with its customers in cathedral chapters, universities and schools, to continental publishers and booksellers.

The Books Belonging to Sveno Jacobi

We have already encountered Sveno Jacobi as a student in Rostock and dean at Skara Cathedral. From 1530 to 1540 Jacobi was bishop of Skara. After his death in 1555, an inventory of his books was drawn up.⁸² Jacobi left behind one of the more substantial Swedish private book collections, with forty titles, both in

82 'Titel effterskriffne är Titelen på alle hans Böker', National Archives of Sweden, Sveno Jacobis samling ms E5702. Otfried Czaika, *Sveno Jacobi: Boksamlaren, biskopen, teologen. En bok- och kyrkohistorisk studie* (Stockholm/Skara/Helsinki, 2013). Czaika's study must be regarded as the most authoritative edition and analysis of this book collection. But the list has not been unrecognized in the past: Ödberg, *Om magister Sven Jacobi*. Mia Korpiola, *On the Reception of the Jus Commune and Foreign Law in Sweden, ca 1550–1615* <http://www.cliothemis.com/On-the-Reception-of-the-Jus> (2009–2010), 24.

print and in manuscript, in approximately forty-seven volumes (one of the three manuscripts is explicitly identified as ‘Codex’; the other manuscripts are Swedish texts that had not yet been printed). Jacobi’s collection parallels that of Danish priest Peder Sørensen (see pp. 241–242) in that they both highlight the presence of pre-Reformation printed books within book collections of the Reformation era. The inventory does not contain all the books known to have been owned by Jacobi, as is indicated in Table 5.9.⁸³

TABLE 5.9 *Books belonging to Sveno Jacobi.*

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo <i>Supplementum chronicarum</i>	Venice	Benalius	1486
Gottfredo da Trani <i>Summa Ganfredi</i>	Cologne	Renchen	1487
Lyra <i>Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1487
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	Nuremberg	Stuchs	1488
Petrus Hispanus <i>Thesaurus Sophismatum</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1495
Lescherius <i>Rhetorica divina</i>	Delft	Snellaert	1496
Peraudi <i>Letter of indulgence</i>	Rostock	Unknown	1502
Peraudi <i>Letter of indulgence</i>	Rostock	Unknown	1502
<i>Epitome theologiae veritatis</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1503
<i>Formulare instrumentorum</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1504
Krantz <i>Oratio funebris... Magni Ducis Megapolensis</i>	Antwerpen	Unknown	1504
Angelus de Clavasio <i>Summa angelica</i>	Hagenau	Rinmann	1505
Vincentius Ravennas <i>Oratio publice... ad... Fredericum Saxonie ducem</i>	Lübeck	Unknown	1506
Lombardus <i>Textus sententiarum</i>	Basel	Kesler	1507
<i>Concordantiae minores biblie</i>	Cologne	Quentell	1508
<i>Repertorium alphabeticum sententiarum</i>	Basel	Petri & Froben	1508
Lyra <i>Repertorium alphabeticum sententiarum</i> [“ <i>Quatuor partes</i> ”]	Lyon	Mareschal	1510
Augustinus <i>De Civitate Dei</i>	Basel	Froben	1513

(Continued)

83 Czaika, *Sueno Jacobi*, pp. 183–192.

TABLE 5.9 (Continued)

Author/title	Place	Printer	Date
Paulus Diaconus <i>Homiliarius doctorum</i>	Basel	Froben	1513
Erasmus <i>Enchiridion militis christiani</i>	Leipzig?	Schumann	1515
Iustinianus <i>Instituta</i>	Venice	Giunta	1516
Beroaldo <i>Libellus de septem sapientium</i> [<i>"Septem libri in Ceritentiis"</i>]	Deventer	Pafraed	1517
Melanchthon <i>Loci Communes</i>	Wittenberg	Lotter	1521
Erasmus <i>Novum Testamentum omne ad Graecam</i>	Basel	Froben	1522
Erasmus <i>Paraphrases in Mattheum</i>	Augsburg	Grimm	1522
Erasmus <i>Paraphrases in Evangelium Ioannis</i>	Basel	Froben	1523
Erasmus <i>Paraphrases in Lucam</i>	Basel	Froben	1523
Hilarius <i>Opera</i> , ed. Erasmus	Basel	Froben	1523
Melanchthon <i>Annotationes in epistolam ad Romanos</i>	Strasbourg	Hervag	1523
Melanchthon <i>Annotationes in evangelium Matthaei</i>	Strasbourg	Hervag	1523
Melanchthon <i>In evangelium Ioannis</i>	Basel	Froben	1523
Erasmus <i>Paraphrases in Marcum</i>	Basel	Froben	1524
Luther <i>Insignia aliquot et vere pia opuscula ... in orationem dominicam</i>	Basel	Wolff	1524
Theophylact <i>In quattuor evangelia enarrationes</i>	Basel	Cratander	1524
Panormitanus <i>Due partes</i>	Leiden	Antonius du Ry	1527
Bonaventura <i>Tabula super libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i>	Nuremberg	Koberger	1494, not after
Anselm <i>Opuscula</i>	Basel	Amerbach	1497, not after
<i>Ars notariatus</i>	Antwerpen	Bac	1498, not before
Lyra <i>Textus biblie cum Glosa ordinaria ... Prima [-sexta] pars</i>	Basel	Petri & Froben	1506–1508

Sveno Jacobi had acquired his first printed books at the beginning of the sixteenth century, while a student. At his death his library combined content of reform-catholic character (seven works by Erasmus of Rotterdam) with decidedly protestant material (nine works by Melanchthon, along with works by other German Protestant writers such as Oldendorp and Westheimer). But his library still included older titles that have not been preserved in any Swedish institutional collection, including a *Textus biblie* together with a *Repertorium* dated 1506–1508, an edition of Petrus Hispanus of 1495, the works of Anselm of Canterbury printed in 1497 and Gottfredo da Trani's *Summa Ganfredi* of 1487. The remaining older works largely stem from Jacobi's student years in Rostock. Mia Korpiola⁸⁴ has noted the presence of legal texts in Jacobi's collection, but the majority of the collection tells of the biblical and homiletic studies of its owner, whom Otfried Czaika described as a protestant rather than a reformed Catholic.⁸⁵ Works no longer in Jacobi's collection at the time of his death had been donated to institutions or given to friends and colleagues during his lifetime. While institutional collections in monastery or cathedral libraries could be plundered in the search for Catholic books, private collections such as Sveno Jacobi's or Peder Sørensen's, and also that held by the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Øm (see chapter 3, pp. 144–149) provided temporary safe havens for pre-Reformation literature.

Finland

We can identify very few of Finland's book owners in the period before the Reformation. Bishop Magnus Särkilax (Särkilahti) gave a copy of the *Missale Hafniense vetus* to the Chapel of All Saints in Turku/Åbo Cathedral.⁸⁶ A Henricus Johannis possessed a copy of the *Psalterium Upsalense vetus*.⁸⁷ Thomas Sarkolaynen in Lempäälä parish was the owner of a Latin Bible printed by Rusch in Strasbourg between 1470 and 1473.⁸⁸ A fragment of Ghotan's

84 Korpiola, *On the Reception*.

85 Czaika, *Sveno Jacobi*. Ödberg, *Om magister Sven Jacobi*.

86 Toivo Haapanen, 'Ett hittills okänt danskt missale tryckt i Mainz af Peter Schöffers omkring år 1484', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 9 (1922), 29–37. J. Vallinkoski, *The History of the University Library at Turku*, 49. Häkli, *Boken i Finland*, 166.

87 Segelberg, 'Svenskt inkunabelnytt', 258–260. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 79–80.

88 Slightly younger was the copy of Froben's 1495 Bible that belonged to Tidemannus Brakelensis in Björneborg/Pori in the second half of the sixteenth century but may have been acquired in Finland before the Reformation.

psalter of 1485 belonged to one Ericus Jacobi, who may have been a Finn.⁸⁹ As we have noted, a large collection of books confiscated from the Swedish monasteries after the Reformation followed Sigismund III from Sweden to Poland and returned to Sweden as war booty in the seventeenth century. Among these books we find a copy of the *Breviarium Strengnense* that Ilkka Taitto regarded as of Finnish provenance.⁹⁰

In part as a result of the fragmentary survival of books and evidence of ownership, we know of many more institutional than private book owners in Finland. The traces of this private book ownership add colour to our picture of pre-Reformation book culture in Finland, but must be viewed alongside the substantial importation of liturgical literature and in the context of an institutional infrastructure that covered cathedral and school libraries, monasteries and parish churches to which individuals might have had access.

89 This fragment is now in the National Library of Finland, shelf mark Ink. K. 137.

90 Now in Uppsala University Library; Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 943. Taitto, *Breviarium Strengnense*.

The Reception of Printed Works

The first five chapters of this book have tackled what might be described as the material history of the book. This final chapter, by contrast, considers the print culture of pre-Reformation Scandinavia. It incorporates categories of printed works that in the past did not make it into bibliographies and catalogues, such as fragments, block books and printed illustrative material.¹ With a broad interdisciplinary approach, it seeks to uncover printed works that we can assume with reasonable certainty must have existed in pre-Reformation Scandinavia. If Uwe Neddermeyer's figures are correct for Scandinavia, thousands of works await identification.² The books we know of today have mostly been registered in library and incunabula catalogues, with a marked emphasis

1 The visible traces of some more ephemeral categories of printed material have disappeared completely. One secular print product was playing cards, acquired and consumed by wide circles of Scandinavian society; see Leif Søndergaard, 'Kulturelle aktiviteter i gilder og lav', in *Gilder, lav og broderskaber i middelalderens Danmark*, ed. Lars Bisgaard and Laif Søndergaard (Odense 2002), 115–150, here 127. Playing cards, morally and ethically questionable and prohibited by guild statutes and in other official regulations (see Leif Søndergaard, 'Kortene på bordet: traek af kortspillet tidlige historie i Skandinavien', *Traditioner er mange ting: festskrift til Iørn Pioe* [Copenhagen 1997], 261–269, here 264–266) were a part of everyday entertainment and a widespread, yet often-overlooked product of the printing press. The earliest reference to the acquisition of playing cards is dated 1487 and documents cards bought by the Danish king (Søndergaard, 'Kortene på bordet', 261). We do not know whether any Scandinavian or north German printer with links to Scandinavia printed playing cards. As far as we are aware, they were imported mainly from Rouen, in northern France, and Flanders, in the Low Countries. The earliest iconographically documented playing cards are found in a mural painting from about 1550, and a number of cards produced in Rouen between 1554 and 1567 were found in Lund (Søndergaard, 'Kortene på bordet', 266f).

The existence and performance of carnival plays has been examined for Denmark, but not yet for a wider Scandinavian context; see Leif Søndergaard, *Fastelavnsspillet i Danmarks senmiddelalder: om Den utro hustru og fastelavnsspillet tradition* (Odense 1989). The plays performed in the pre-Reformation period were grounded in German tradition. The plays of Hans Folz, Hans Rosenplüt, Hans Sachs and Steinhövel and Aesop's fables, upon which many plays were based, could be found throughout Germany in a large number of printed editions. So far, no such works with Danish origins or connections had been uncovered. None of the editions of Aesop that can be found in Scandinavian libraries today has pre-Reformation Scandinavian provenance.

2 Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift*, 1:368ff.

on complete books and only the occasional single-sheet print such as letters of indulgence or calendars. National bibliographies tend to have a wider focus and include a variety of categories of printed material and information on both existing and lost copies. By contrast, publications on catalogues, inventory lists or the reconstructed holdings of historical collections often remain largely bibliographical. The starting point for sixteenth-century pre-Reformation printed works is particularly poor, with few inventory lists, catalogues or bibliographies of pre-Reformation literature in Scandinavian libraries, and nothing on provenance. We have to find other routes to approach the printed material that must have been imported into Scandinavia. If we are to see these lost works again, we must turn to two groups of sources: collections that have been neglected by bibliographers, cataloguers and book historians alike, and research in academic fields beyond the narrower confines of book history.

Investigation of the lost works of Scandinavian book history is challenging. Relevant research covers not only a wide range of disciplines, spanning from art to literary history, but also a diversity of forms, including translations, adaptations and iconography. This approach draws also on material that we know to have been commissioned but that was never produced. Other items were printed but have disappeared entirely, without leaving any physical evidence behind. Whichever category works fall into, they may enable us to add to the lists of printed books and expand the range of titles that are already established in pre-Reformation Scandinavian book history. Sometimes, such material can demonstrate that the interest in printed works, reflected in its commissioning and production, far exceeds what we have learned from previous accounts of Scandinavian book history. Any addition to the number of works produced, acquired, read or handled within Scandinavia before the Reformation adds to our understanding of the liveliness and scope of its print culture.

Printing has often preserved the content of manuscripts, but sometimes printed works have been themselves preserved by transcription: a copy of the letter of indulgence printed by Johann Snell in Stockholm for Bartholomaeus de Camerino in 1484 is known in a handwritten copy only, issued in Sko on 22 August 1484.³ Apparently missing books may never have been printed, or at least we may lack archival sources to verify their production. Harald Tveterås refers to three liturgical books commissioned by Erik Valkendorf, archbishop of Trondheim.⁴ Of the *Missale Nidrosiense*, seven copies are now at the National

3 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 42.

4 Tveterås, *Geschichte des Buchhandels*, 6–7, where, however, the places of printing have been confused.

Library of Norway, while two copies have been preserved at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.⁵ Two copies of the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* of 1519 are in the National Library of Norway and another one at the National Library of Sweden.⁶ But we know nothing more of the *Passionale*, of which 1200 copies were to be printed. In 1520, Valkendorf had commissioned the Danish printer Hans Reff to arrange a contract with a printer in Amsterdam for the production of a prayer book.⁷ Perhaps the turmoil of the early Reformation prevented the fulfilment of this commission, but the Reformation was not introduced to Norway before 1523, and Lutheranism was officially established as late as 1537, during the reign of Christian III. The number of copies ordered, though, hints at the scale of the contemporary market for liturgical books in Norway. As we have seen, breviaries or missals printed outside Scandinavia were used when liturgical books specifically approved by the local ecclesiastical authorities were not available.⁸ The preface of the *Missale Nidrosiense* of 1519 provides testimony to the use of books in the archdiocese of Trondheim that belonged to a different liturgical tradition. Only a few copies of this type of book have survived and their contribution cannot be reconstructed quantitatively. That contribution has often been overlooked in national book histories.

Another book that should have been printed was the *Breviarium Lincopense*. Bishop Hans Brask mentioned in a letter dated 1524 that he planned to commission an edition of 800 copies.⁹ The letter indicates that he was very well acquainted with printed Swedish and Danish liturgical books and with the foreign book market in general. In a part-Swedish, part-Latin letter dated September 1524 and addressed to Petrus Benedicti, a member of his chapter then travelling through Germany to Paris, Brask asks Benedicti to investigate the costs of having 800 breviaries printed on behalf of Linköping diocese.¹⁰

5 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 182. Hans Buvarp and Baltzer M. Børsum, *Appendix to Breviarium Nidrosiense. 1: liturgical survey; 2: bibliographical survey* (Oslo 1964).

6 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, 28. Wilhelm Munthe, *Missale Nidrosiense* (Oslo 1943).

7 Tveterås, *Geschichte des Buchhandels*, 7; unfortunately, Tveterås gives no source for the information in his article.

8 Hamre mentions foreign breviaries and missals that were in use in Norway without giving any details; Lars Hamre, 'Erik Valkendorf', *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo 1975), 17:505.

9 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, 320–324: no. 256: 'vi aktom lata prenta vid viiic breffuera pro ecclesia nostra'.

10 Ibid.: 'Item kan thet swa bäre aat för eder ati komme til pariiss Tha vether ath vi aktom lata prenta vid viiic breffuera pro ecclesia nostra cum tali littera som hore beate virginis vore satte aat them i lwnd cum floribus et figuris per omnes margines som the vora bwndne tenakulerede oc helffthena förgylt more eorum oc helfftne golth fförspören eder cum librariis om nesta köpet oc scriffuer oss til med förste bud Vi förmoda vel ther gott

Brask not only gives a detailed idea of what this breviary should look like, but also names other printed works as points of reference. Both type and decoration, Brask wrote, should resemble those used in Paris in 1514 for the printing of *Vor Frue Tider*, Christiørn Pedersen's Danish version of the Latin Book of Hours. He suggested the price of the breviary would follow that of the *Missale Lundense*, which had also been printed in 1514 in Paris. Brask was also aware of the different prices of paper and vellum copies of the *Missale Upsalense* printed in Basel in 1513. He must have owned or had access to these works, but we do not know anything of these copies today. A letter a year later to a printer in Lübeck indicates the renewal of his efforts to find a printer for this breviary.¹¹ The book was never printed, but the project was a serious attempt to meet the needs of a specific group of customers within the structures of the Swedish book market and tells of the scale of pre-Reformation Swedish book culture.

Scandinavian clerics and theologians were able to stay up to date with theological writing on the European continent. Henrik Sandblad concludes from his study of eschatological ideas in Sweden during the Reformation that certain printed works must have been widely available in Sweden before the Reformation.¹² One such example is St Birgitta's *Onus Mundi*, printed in great numbers and translated into several languages. In Sweden, German editions, usually called *Bürde der Welt*, were the most widely read and were important for the reform movement within the church at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹³ Yet almost no copies of these works can be found in Swedish libraries today. Only two copies of the first edition of 1481 are extant in Sweden today according to Collijn,¹⁴ and none of the second edition of 1482.¹⁵ A Latin edition, dated Rome 1485, is known in five copies in Scandinavian libraries, but none seems to have a pre-Reformation Scandinavian provenance.¹⁶ A separate

kööp propter numerum som I ther sielffue vel finnen Item hörens oc före huad stycket gellder de missalibus the som trycktes parisiis pro ecclesia lwndensi at vi motte laga vort kööp ther epter Vpsalenses lothe tryckia sina in Basilea oc trom at köpmannen som thet solliciterede fik vj eller vii mark ortug thet höxta förs pappers missale bundet tenakulere the oc vel tilreth tha the kommo til Stocholm oc xviii marc ortug för permantz missale'.

11 Ibid., 391: no. 342.

12 Henrik Sandblad, *De eskatologiska föreställningarna i Sverige under reformation och motreformation* (Uppsala 1942).

13 Ibid., 19.

14 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 15.

15 Ibid., 16.

16 Ericsson and Koberg castle libraries, the early twentieth-century private collection of Vult von Steijern, National Library of Sweden and Uppsala University Library.

edition of the *Onus Mundi*, also printed in Rome in 1485, is known in one Swedish copy, but surely was not of contemporary Scandinavian provenance.¹⁷ Subsequent German editions were published in 1502 (four copies in Sweden),¹⁸ 1504 (no copies),¹⁹ 1510 (2 copies),²⁰ and 1522 (2 copies).²¹ According to Sandblad, other eschatological authors – Pseudo-Methodius, Sibylla, Joachim de Fiore, Paulus de Sancta Maria (Paulus von Burgos and Salomon ben Levi), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Paulus Ricius – have left traces in the works of Swedish pre-Reformation theologians or at least would have been known to them, encountered perhaps at Uppsala University or at the European universities many of these theologians had attended.²² A number of editions of works by Paulus Ricius are today held in the university libraries of Uppsala and Lund, but they do not have pre-Reformation Scandinavian provenances. We do find traces of other works: the *Scrutinium scripturarum* of Paulus de Sancta Maria appears, for example, in the catalogue of Uppsala Cathedral Library as a testamentary donation by a certain Mathias, with the annotation ‘Testamentum Dni Mathiae de [...] ad Chorum Sti Erii, pro ejus anima [...]’.²³ ‘Choir of St Eric’ is a reference to Uppsala Cathedral. Another of these scarce examples of the reception of foreign eschatological literature is provided by the single edition of the *Opera* of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola that I uncovered in the inventory of the lecturer’s library in Slesvig under the heading ‘In naturalibus historiis, artibus humanitatis et aliis’.²⁴

Hans Brask, a Focal Point for Book Culture in Pre-Reformation Sweden

The indexes of the letters written or received by Hans Brask, bishop of Linköping from 1513 to 1527, reveal the spectrum of texts and books with which Brask engaged in the early 1520s.²⁵ As I looked for surviving copies of these works, I came to recognise that Brask is an excellent witness to the quantity of

17 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 50.

18 Ibid., 200.

19 Ibid., 202.

20 Ibid., 214.

21 Ibid., 272.

22 Sandblad, *De eskatologiska föreställningarna*, 20, 23, 73.

23 No. 97 in Quensel’s catalogue, now Collijn Uppsala 1146 B; Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 2598.

24 Lindbaek and Jørgensen, ‘To bogfortegnelser’, 307–319.

25 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*. Stobaeus, *Hans Brask*.

literature that has otherwise disappeared completely from the shelves and is inaccessible through other sources. Brask, bishop of the second most influential see in Sweden, was probably the principal opponent of Lutheran theology and the first reformers in Sweden. Linköping, a little over 100 miles from Stockholm, the capital, had its own port in Söderköping. In the western part of the diocese, the Brigittine monastery of Vadstena was a cultural centre in its own right, part of a European monastic network. Strategically positioned between the king listening to pro-Lutheran preaching in the north, Vadstena the most important Swedish monastery in the west, and the port of Söderköping, the gateway for papal letters, Catholic literature and forbidden pro-Lutheran books in the east, Brask fought for the reform of the church and the survival of Catholicism. Brask's first letters addressing the Lutheran heresy are dated early in 1523, although he must have been aware of Lutheranism at a much earlier date.²⁶ Brask's knowledge of early Reformation thought would have been shaped for the most part by written documents such as letters from the papal curia and printed books.²⁷ What perspective do these letters provide on early anti-Lutheran and pro-Lutheran literature? Brask must have read in some detail Luther's teachings and those of his followers. In a letter dated April 1523, he listed the errors of Olaus Petri, a Swedish pupil of Luther's and later reformer of Sweden.²⁸ Three months later, he referred to this compilation as well as to other books in a letter to the Brigittine brothers in Vadstena.²⁹ Brask sent together with this letter a copy of one of the six editions of the *Errores atrocissimorum Ruthenorum* printed in Cologne between 1506 and 1508. For some, Luther's teachings were a repetition of the Slavic orthodox heresy of the Ruthenians and therefore good knowledge of the Ruthenian heresy was thought to be a significant weapon in the fight against Lutheranism. In the same letter, Brask also informs the brothers about

26 Stobaeus, *Hans Brask*, 145ff.

27 Per Stobaeus, *Från biskop Brasks tid* (Skellefteå 2010), 189: 'Snart sagt alla de mest kända antilutherska skrifterna ingick i hans bibliotek. Man måste beteckna Linköpingsbiskopen som välorienterad' [Virtually all among the most well-known anti-Lutheran works were part of his library. He was surely well informed].

28 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, 169–172: no. 83.

29 Ibid., 182–183: no. 99: 'Mittimus vobis cum latore presentium iuvene nostro tractatulum quendam de erroribus rutenorum ut eo lecto tanto magis elucescat ubi heresis illa luteriana sua iaceat fundamenta et ut eius error ac ipsorum rutenorum tanto facilius reprimatur [...] alium vobis hiis diebus ex Italia receptum tractatulum per Illustrissimum regem anglie in propria persona editum contra luterianam heresim transmittimus'.

a copy of the English king Henry VIII's defence of the Catholic faith against Luther, the *Assertio septem*, which had arrived from Rome, where it had been printed in 1521.

Brask surely had access to works by Luther. In a letter of March 1524, he refers to new insight into Luther's teachings and warns against reading such works, while complaining about the lack of new editions of anti-Lutheran books for the simple people of Sweden.³⁰ Brask had realised that Lutheran books had been pouring into the country for some time. In another letter of March 1524, he reminded the brothers in Vadstena that it was forbidden to sell, buy, receive or read schismatic literature. He writes that he had sent out letters proclaiming this ban two years earlier.³¹ The brothers in Vadstena appear to have encountered pro-Lutheran books and to have asked Bishop Brask for advice about what to do with them. The letter repeated the earlier reference to the Ruthenian heresy. Brask was fighting a losing battle. In a letter in Swedish dated June 1524, addressed to the citizens of Söderköping and consisting of a translation of the main parts of the earlier Latin letter, he admitted publically that Lutheran thoughts and books had already been being imported into the city by foreign merchants and other men for some years.³² We may never be able to establish who these early ambassadors of Lutheranism were or what

30 Ibid., 262–263; no. 193: 'Quam nos ut novas opiniones sui Lutheri ne dicamus heresim promoveant...Iamque scribere et consulere incipiunt libros Lutheri non fore respuendos ymmo relegendos ad effectum ut si quid irreligiosum lectores invenerint in eisdem statim converterent se ad novorum librorum edicionem contra huiusmodi Lutheri libros quasi homines simplices huius regni aliis intendere non haberent quam Lutheri petulantie...ne regnum inficiatur hac nova Heresi per ecclesie catholice diuisionem a sua unitate non essent huiusmodi lutherosi...'

31 Ibid., 266–268; no. 197: 'Per admissionem librorum pro lutheriano scismate editorum Quorum librorum venditionem emtionem receptionem et lecturam ante biennium per nostras patentes litteras in valvis et portis ecclesiarum omnium civitatum nostre dyocesis premissa catholica monicione auctoritate ordinaria sub pena excommunicationis late sententie publice interdiximus...in huiusmodi libris...Cum arma huiusmodi lutheri ex aliis hereticis et Ruthenis scismaticis mendicata in palestra sacrorum consiliorum pluries fuerant confRACTA deiecta et ut heretica per universalem ecclesiam catholicam dampnata prout in libello de ritu et erroribus Ruthenorum'.

32 Ibid., 297–298; no. 228: 'För then ville oc falsche kändedom ther Morten lutters tilhengiere her in I landet förth haffue I noger aar...at ingen skulle dyrffues nogra förnemde lwters dikth eller böker eller falskan lärdom her i vort stikth sälle heller kööpa heller ibland vor cristne almoige förderffuelige vthspriida...epter thet oss dagelige förekommer at monge vtlendzsche men bode köpmen oc andre komme her in i sticktet med förnemde kätterske böker oc lärer'.

Lutheran texts they had imported into Sweden. We also do not know whether Hans Brask's library contained books by Luther. Although the libraries of Danish monasteries and clerics did contain Lutheran and other Reformation literature printed in the early 1520s, such material was most probably a later acquisition. The need to study and attack the Lutheran heresy could have driven Catholic clerics such as Hans Brask to acquire Lutheran books even before the establishment of the Reformation in Sweden, but we unfortunately lack the archival evidence that would turn this possibility into a certainty. The merchants and other men who visited Söderköping – perhaps soldiers from Lübeck who participated in the civil war between the Danish king and the Swedish nobility around 1520 to 1523 – could have brought with them from Germany small-scale printed works that were easily hidden and might have addressed a less literate, non-academic public. Bishop Brask received and communicated information about heretical and schismatic literature that was mediated by letters and book dispatches from Rome and Lübeck.³³ He must also have seen for himself printed works smuggled into his city by foreign merchants and have followed and reported on the theological defence against Lutheranism and its Swedish apostle Olaus, yet there is no evidence of this knowledge in his letters or books.³⁴

Religious Movements and Print Culture: Woodcuts, Broadsheets and Books

This chapter affords a welcome opportunity to investigate how the complexities of Scandinavian religious movements determined their capacities as consumers of printed material and their participation in printing. Traditionally, Scandinavian pre-Reformation book history has concentrated almost exclusively on the production, acquisition and collection of printed books and as a result has primarily considered the texts and ideas transmitted by editions of classical, medieval or early modern works. Textual history is not entirely absent from this chapter, but its focus is on other uses of printed media, a shift that brings to our attention previously ignored books and illustrations. Some printed works were appreciated as much for their illustrations as for their text. Other uses were more physical. Works much like the modern scrapbook were the result of a book owner reading with knife in hand. The works discussed here bear witnesses to the purchase, ownership and (re-)use of woodcuts and

33 Ibid., 339: no. 279: 'Cui etiam mittimus unam massam littrarum ex lubeca receptam';...

34 Ibid., 169–172: no. 83; 182–183: no. 99.

copper engravings in Scandinavia, published either within printed books or as separately sold broadsheets.

Woodcuts and copper engravings with artistic representations of religious, emblematic, moral or historical iconography were produced in a number of locations on the European continent, but so far we know of only one reference to domestic woodcut printing in Scandinavia.³⁵ In 1489, on the occasion of the translation of St Catherine, daughter of St Birgitta, the church of Vadstena monastery was decorated by 'sætterverk', that is, woodcuts that had been printed on cloth and illuminated by hand with representations of St Catherine executed by the Briggittine brothers.³⁶ As these printed pictures have been lost, in assembling evidence of the distribution and use of original printed works this chapter has to consider woodcuts and copper engravings produced outside Scandinavia.³⁷

Unfortunately, the evidence is limited. As we have noted, whether a printed work survived was closely connected to the nature of the work itself. Large-format books, more highly valued religious books as well as scientific books appear to have been more likely to survive than schoolbooks, prayer books, official publications and broadsheets. Uwe Neddermeyer has shown that overall between 3% and 6% of all books printed in Europe between 1450 and the first decades of the sixteenth century have survived.³⁸ There are, though, categories of printed material that have survived at much lower rates, sometimes down to a single surviving object. Finally there are categories of books of which no copies at all have survived. Among the most vulnerable printed objects were block books, broadsheets or other forms of printed illustrative material. Users of all kinds, readers and artists, displayed and deployed graphic material in ways that had consequences for each print and its survival.

35 Arthur Mayger Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut with a detailed Survey of Work done in the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London 1935) has no knowledge of any Scandinavian production of woodcuts and contains information on neither provenances nor modern locations.

36 Ingvar Henschen, *Tygtryck i Sverige* (Uppsala 1942), 70–71. Six years after they reportedly had printed woodcuts on fabric, the brothers in Vadstena also established their own short-lived printing press.

37 For an account of the relation between model and copy at the end of the Middle Ages see Jonathan J.G. Alexander, 'Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations: The Relationship to the Model in Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts', *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Washington DC, 1989), 61–74.

38 Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift, passim*.

Print Culture in Brigittine Monasteries

Female religiosity in general and Brigittine monastic culture more specifically were fora in which printed images could often be found.³⁹ Overturning earlier interpretations, the competence of the nuns of Vadstena in engaging with language, books and literature is now well established.⁴⁰ Some of the nuns could read and write in Latin and Swedish, and some would have had access to the library of the Brigittine brothers, from which they reportedly borrowed manuscripts.⁴¹ The prayer books or Books of Hours produced by Brigittine nuns in such great numbers travelled far, across geographical and political borders. After her return from Denmark to Sweden in 1524, Christina Nilsdotter, widow of the Swedish regent Sten Sture the Younger, received a prayer book as a gift from Vadstena monastery.⁴² The Swedish character of Nilsdotter's prayer book complements the discussion of Christiern Pedersen in chapter 2, for the prayer book contains translations or copies of translations of two printed works by Christiern Pedersen. The first is his commentary on the Mass, published in Latin in Paris in 1514 and in Swedish translation in 1523 in Söderköping, in the printing shop founded by Hans Brask.⁴³ No copies of the Swedish version have survived. The second text is a translation of Pedersen's *Epistler og Evangelier*, which had been printed in Danish in Paris in 1515;⁴⁴ this version, which appears to be unconnected to any other Swedish translation, may have been the work of an unknown Brigittine translator.⁴⁵ Of significance for this study are not the literary or theological qualities of these translations – although certainly interesting issues in themselves – but rather the further evidence these two

39 Cf. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (London 1997) and *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter: Ergebnisse eines Arbeitsgesprächs in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 24.–26. Febr. 1999* (Boston 2004), as well as the more general study Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York 1998).

40 Hedström, *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker*, 88ff.

41 Jonas Carlquist, 'Abdissan lånar böcker: Vadstenasystrarnas tillgång till brödernas bibliotek', in *Dicit scriptura: studier i C-samlingen tillägnade Monica Hedlund*, ed. Sara Risberg (Stockholm 2006), 11–31.

42 The National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, manuscript Rålambska samlingen 8:o no. 4; Carl Carlquist and Jonas Carlquist, *Nådig Fru Kristinas andaktsbok – möte med en bannlyst kvinnas fromhetsliv* (Örebro 1997).

43 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 286.

44 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, no. 208.

45 Stobaeus, *Från biskop Brasks tid*, 202–204.

works provide of the widespread distribution within contemporary Scandinavia of books published by Christiern Pedersen. The first translation could have been a transcription of the Swedish edition printed and distributed under the auspices of Brask, in which case Nilsdotter's prayer book would be the only surviving evidence of this printed work, but it is also possible that it was an independent translation of Pedersen's book. In any case Christina Nilsdotter must have had access to both prints. The second translation seems to have been produced on location at Vadstena and was based upon either the Paris edition of 1515 or the second edition published in Leipzig in 1518. With this knowledge of the existence of these two printed books, we can add a further two entries to our list of Scandinavian pre-Reformation provenances.

With their connections to monasteries in the Netherlands and southern Germany in particular, the nuns and monks at Vadstena were linked to continental European printing centres, which placed a wealth of images at their disposal.⁴⁶ St Birgitta plays one of the most significant roles in Scandinavian iconography.⁴⁷ Images of St Birgitta and of her daughter St Catherine aroused interest throughout the European market. Most of the earliest images that have been preserved were produced in Augsburg, surely for a south German market. South German and Dutch Brigittine monasteries were later crucial for the production and distribution of woodcuts showing either Birgitta and Catherine or an iconography that referenced Birgitta.⁴⁸ These miniature woodcuts proved extremely mobile. Illustrations were sold and exchanged through communication networks involving older monasteries and beguine

46 Peter Schmidt, 'The Multiple Image: The Beginnings of Printmaking, Between Old Theories and New Approaches', in *Origins of European Printmaking. Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public*, ed. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (New Haven 2005), 38–51, here 44–50, contains an international overview of the use of printed images.

47 Isak Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina typographica: Birgitta & Katherina i medeltida bildtryck*, 2 vols. (Stockholm 1915–1918) contains descriptions of an impressive number of works, predominantly woodcuts from the 1470s onwards together with a small number of early sixteenth-century copper engravings.

48 Marthe W. Driver, 'Nuns as Patrons, Artists, Readers: Bridgettine Woodcuts in Printed Books Produced for the English Market', in *Art into Life*, ed. Carol Garrett Fisher and Kathleen Scott (Michigan 1995), 237–268. Richard S. Field, 'Woodcuts from Altomünster', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1969), 183–211. Mereth Lindgren, *Bilden av Birgitta*. 2nd ed. (Stockholm 2002). On the Dutch market see Peter Schmidt, 'Kleben statt malen: Handschriftenillustration im Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift Inzigkofen', *Studien und Texte* (2004), 243–283, here 280, n. 87.

houses and were in use in female houses throughout western and northern Europe.⁴⁹

All pre-Reformation Briggittine woodcuts preserved in Scandinavia were produced outside Scandinavia. These woodcuts are few and can be found in only a few locations, foremost in the National Library of Sweden and Uppsala University Library. Usually they have been removed from their original context, often a manuscript, and bear neither signs of contemporary Scandinavian provenance nor evidence related to the origin and acquisition history of the work in which they were originally placed. An illuminating example is the prayer book written by Anna Svensdotter on behalf of Ingegerd Ambjörnsdotter, both nuns at Vadstena monastery.⁵⁰ This manuscript is known to have been written between 1501 and 1527. Its contents include an important collection of prayers in Swedish. Anna Svensdotter illustrated her manuscript with six woodcuts and copper engravings that have been preserved. The woodcuts depict the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus, the crucified Holy Heart in two different designs, and St Anne.⁵¹ The places of production of the two woodcuts of the Virgin Mary and that of the child Jesus have not been identified, but the woodcuts of the Holy Heart are Dutch, and that of St Anne has been attributed to Cologne. The only copper engraving in this manuscript, of Christ on his throne surrounded by saints Birgitta and Catherine, has been attributed to the Dutch master GM. The caption 'This printed image of St Birgitta can be received at Dendremonde' [*Ex Teneramunda birgitta traditur pressa*] suggests that the illustration was produced for the Dutch Briggittine monastery Marienthron in Dendremonde.⁵² As both Henry Bradshaw and Collijn have shown, there was a tradition of producing and distributing printed images in Dutch convents.⁵³ The woodcut showing the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus seems stylistically and emblematically rooted in the same Dutch tradition. The illumination of the Mass of St Gregory in the same manuscript is not a woodcut but painted,

49 Schmidt, 'Kleben statt malen', 280f.

50 National Library of Sweden MS A 43; Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina*, 67ff.

51 Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina*, 68, 71–73. The nuns of Vadstena were following in the footsteps of a European tradition of pasting woodcuts into both printed books and manuscripts; see Ursula Baurmeister, 'Das Blockbuch – Vorläufer oder Konkurrent des mit beweglichen Lettern gedruckten Buchs?', in *Rationalisierung der Buchherstellung im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Rück and Martin Boghardt (Marburg 1994), 147–164, here 147–148.

52 Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina*, 75–79.

53 Henry Bradshaw, 'On Two Engravings on Copper, by GM, a Wandering Flemish Artist of the XV–XVIth Century', Henry Bradshaw, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1889), 247–257; Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina*, 76.

and Maja Margrethe Braaten has suggested that it could have been painted by drawing on a Dutch woodcut that might have been found in a Book of Hours in the possession of Anna Svensdotter. A woodcut depicting the Mass of St Gregory, together with a hand-coloured woodcut showing Christ the man of sorrows, is preserved in a late fifteenth-century Vadstena manuscript containing the *Collectarium Lincopense* and the *De electione abatissae* that has not been analysed by Braaten.⁵⁴

Images of Jesus, the Virgin Mary and saints, especially St Birgitta and St Catherine, would have made the trip easily from the Netherlands to the mother house in Vadstena. Illustrations in Ingegerd Ambjörnsdotter's prayer book appear to have been directly influenced by printed originals, as we have seen to be the case with the illustration of the Mass of St Gregory.⁵⁵ Another copy of the woodcut showing the Mass of St Gregory has been pasted in a slightly older Vadstena manuscript, written by one of the members of the convent, Christina Hansdotter Brask, around 1500.⁵⁶ Of the ten woodcuts that originally accompanied the manuscript, only three survived to the early twentieth century: St Catherine with a deer, the Virgin Mary with the dead Christ on her knees, and the aforementioned Mass of St Gregory.

The presence of woodcuts in manuscripts from Vadstena has been noted but given little further attention. Braaten was amongst the first to place iconographically significant illustrations found in Vadstena manuscripts, such as those discussed above, within the context of religious and social ideas and rituals.⁵⁷ The lack of interest was supported by the lack of sources. The National

54 Uppsala University Library MS C 425; Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 5 (Uppsala 1992).

55 Maja Margrethe Braaten, *Grafiska tryck i birgittinsk kontekst: med utgangspunkt i Ingegerd Ambjörnsdotters boennebok* (Oslo 2006). Hedström, *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker*, considers Braaten's thesis as well as older studies in the chapters on illuminations (198ff), on the production of and trade in printed images (253f), and on book production and the printing press installed in Vadstena in 1495 (333ff). Hedström is principally concerned with Swedish medieval and early modern Brigittine prayer books, but tells us less about the visual material, including whether there were printed illustrations in Vadstena manuscripts; she also does not discuss whether there are traces in Vadstena manuscripts of printed illustrations that had been pasted in but are now missing (247ff).

56 *Liber horarum ad usum sororum ordinis S. Salvatoris*, Uppsala University Library MS C 12; the missing woodcuts left traces on fol. 1v, 91r, 116r, 121v, 131v and 186r; Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, vol. 1. Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina*, 64. Robert Geete, *Svenska böner från medeltiden* (Stockholm 1907), L.

57 Braaten, *Grafiska tryck*, 46.

Library of Sweden owns Birgitta Andersdotter's prayer book, dated 1520.⁵⁸ This work originally contained nineteen pasted-in images, but only one illustration remains within the work today, showing typical Brigittine content with the wounds of Christ and the instruments of the Passion. The remaining illustrations have disappeared. Three woodcuts have been preserved within their original context in another Vadstena manuscript in Stockholm, called *Jungfru Marie örtagård* (Virgin Mary's Garden) and dated to around 1510.⁵⁹ Two woodcuts that include the Christogram IHS might have been produced in the Netherlands.⁶⁰ Another woodcut has been taken directly from the Lübeck edition of 1492 of the *Revelationes* of St Birgitta.⁶¹ A late fifteenth-century Vadstena manuscript now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin contains a hand-coloured pasted-in woodcut.⁶² Its iconography is also typically Brigittine, with the bleeding Christ and the instruments of the Passion. Dorothea Nilsdotter, a member of the convent at Vadstena, wrote her prayer book, which is now in the National Library of Sweden, around 1500. It contains a copper engraving of St Mark, and traces on either side of folio 62 suggest the former presence of two further images, now lost.⁶³

The excision of woodcuts from their original context deserves our attention. Robert Geete describes a large number of manuscripts that lack whole leaves. The vast majority of late medieval woodcuts that were once pasted into manuscripts were subsequently removed and brought no information about their original context with them to their new home. It is possible that large numbers of broadsheet images, woodcuts and copper engravings from around 1500 that are now in European libraries were once part of manuscripts.⁶⁴ Following the same pattern, many of the missing leaves in late medieval Scandinavian manuscripts may have contained woodcuts or copper engravings. Most of the images that had been printed from woodcuts and are now in a collection in the National Library of Sweden were probably removed from manuscripts.⁶⁵

58 National Library of Sweden MS A 80; Braaten, *Grafiska tryck*, 75.

59 National Library of Sweden MS A 12; Braaten, *Grafiska tryck*, 40–41.

60 Braaten, *Grafiska tryck*, 46–47, referring to Robert Geete, *Jungfru Marie örtagård: Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual* (Stockholm 1895), LXXXIX.

61 Fol. 258; Geete, *Jungfru Marie örtagård*, LXXXIX–XC.

62 Ms. Theol. Lat. 8:o, no. 71 fol. 123v; Robert Geete, *Skrifter till uppbyggelse från medeltiden* (Stockholm 1904–1905), XXXIII–XXXIV.

63 Fol. 196r; Geete, *Svenska böner*, XXXIII.

64 Braaten, *Grafiska tryck*, 78.

65 National Library of Sweden, collection signature 288 Et 1 Ettbladstryck och fragment. Apparently Collijn himself assembled the nucleus of this collection of broadsheets and fragments.

This collection includes twenty images that largely depict St Birgitta or contain other Brigittine iconography. Two of these images have been attributed to Vadstena.⁶⁶ The first, a copy of a woodcut of the church of the Brigittines at Rome dated to the early sixteenth century, was found pasted in a copy of the 1517 Koberger edition of St Birgitta's *Revelationes*; the book itself is now lost.⁶⁷ The second, and more interesting, Brigittine woodcut shows the family tree of St Birgitta.⁶⁸ This image has been dated by Gustaf Edvard Klemming to around 1500, a time at which there was no printing office in Sweden. It may have been cut by Brother Gerardus, who is recorded in the Vadstena diary as a sculptor and painter. Brother Gerardus has also been linked to the woodcuts that illustrate the 1492 edition of St Birgitta's *Revelationes*, but it is possible that he only painted the originals for this edition, while the woodcuts themselves were produced in Lübeck by a north German master.⁶⁹

All too often, surviving manuscripts can tell us only that they once contained illustrations. One such example is another Vadstena manuscript, a Latin and Swedish prayer book dated from the beginning of the sixteenth century. On fol. 97v we find one surviving hand-coloured woodcut, but there are also traces of pasted-in images on three other leaves, folios 99r, 105r and 111v.⁷⁰ This manuscript includes hand-coloured pen-and-ink drawings that may be copies of woodcut originals. The hand-coloured pen-and-ink drawing found in a manuscript in Uppsala, most likely the work of Johannes Suenonis who wrote the manuscript at Vadstena monastery during the years 1487 to 1495, was quite obviously a copy of a woodcut.⁷¹ This drawing, a female saint with cross and book, has distinct Brigittine iconography, where depictions of a book appear frequently. According to Mereth Lindgren, this specific iconography can usually be seen on woodcuts, such as the woodcut by the Augsburg

66 A painted copy of a woodcut dated ca. 1487 and executed by the Augsburg-based 'Pflanzenwuchsmeister' was removed from manuscript A 88, which once belonged not to Vadstena but to a Dutch Brigittine monastery, according to the National Library of Sweden's manuscript catalogue. National Library of Sweden 288 Et 1/V:14. Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Birgitta-litteratur: bibliografi* (Stockholm 1873), 91. Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina*, ill. III.

67 National Library of Sweden 288 Et 1/V:15; Klemming, *Birgitta-litteratur*, 98.

68 Copy A: National Library of Sweden 288 Et 1/V:10. copy B; Klemming, *Birgitta-litteratur*, 93f. Collijn, *Iconographia Birgittina*, ill. XII.

69 Collijn, *Svensk bibliografi*, 1:123. Braaten, *Grafiska tryck*, 77.

70 Uppsala University Library MS C 68; Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, vol. 2. Geete, *Svenska böner*, LIX.

71 Johannes Suenonis, *Sermones varii de sanctis*, Uppsala University Library MS C 295; Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, vol. 3.

'Pflanzenwuchsmeister' that was removed from Vadstena manuscript A 88.⁷² Braaten suggests that two further manuscripts also once contained printed images: National Library of Sweden manuscript A 81, and Uppsala University Library manuscript C 443, both produced at Vadstena monastery.⁷³ MS A 81, a prayer book written by Anna Germundsdotter for Dorothea Nilsdotter in Vadstena monastery around 1500 has a woodcut of St Mark pasted on the inside of its front cover; the additional illustrations it once contained (fols. 62r and 62v) have been removed.

With the exception of the aforementioned Johannes Suenonis, Vadstena monks seem to have been decidedly less interested in woodcuts than Vadstena nuns. The monks' choice of motive may also have ranged more broadly. To date only one woodcut has been connected with certainty to a monk from Vadstena monastery, an image of St Francis removed in 1876 from a copy of Johannes Gritsch's *Quadragesimale*. The book, and with it the woodcut, once belonged to a Benedictus Petri (Bengt Persson), who bequeathed this book in 1517 to Magister Swenoni (Sven Jakobsson), dean at Skara Cathedral, on the occasion of his admission to the monastery at Vadstena.⁷⁴

The practice of adding illustrations, including woodcuts, to manuscripts was perhaps characteristic of Brigittine production.⁷⁵ The result was a lively image culture across Brigittine houses that would have given the nuns living in seclusion in Vadstena monastery access to a world of images otherwise unavailable to them.⁷⁶ Those images contained a decidedly Brigittine iconography. Different monastic communities used different pictures in quite similar ways. Devotional books contained images that served to define the type of image that should be invoked by reading the texts they contained.⁷⁷ Books of communal, but especially private, prayer and meditation were based upon not only the words of St Birgitta and the rule of the order, but also upon a wealth of images that were often associated with Dutch woodcuts.⁷⁸ These images, as we

72 Mereth Lindgren, *Bilden av Birgitta*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm 2002), 135.

73 Braaten, *Grafiska trykk*, 75.

74 'Hunc librum Dono Dedit benedictus petri conuentualis vastenensis [Vadstena] egregio viro ac illustri magistro domino magistro Swenonj canonico scarensi [Skara] quem precor suscipiat cum fauore et pro munere exiguo'. Johannes Gritsch, *Quadragesimale*, Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1488, binding now attributed to Lübeck; Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 1773. The woodcut in the National Library of Sweden has the shelf mark 288 Et 1/V:20.

75 Braaten, *Grafiska trykk*, 61–69.

76 Ibid., 73–74, with reference to parallels in Dominican monasteries.

77 Schmidt, 'Kleben statt malen', 279.

78 Braaten, *Grafiska trykk*, 52–54.

have seen, were in turn often commissioned or produced by Brigittine monasteries. Brigittine monasteries sought a certain type of image with a specific symbolic content that was part of the traditional reception of St Birgitta's own words. Braaten has speculated that the printing press that burned down shortly after its establishment at Vadstena monastery in 1495 may have been used, or was intended to be used, to produce woodcuts as well as the textile printing mentioned above.⁷⁹ We can assume from the woodcuts preserved in Vadstena manuscripts that the nuns had access to a good number of woodcuts with which they could decorate their manuscripts and thereby intensify the experience of prayer. The Brigittine monastery at Vadstena seems to have been the location for an incomparably lively and well documented iconographical culture, distinct from other Scandinavian manuscript production. Among the dozen handwritten pre-Reformation Danish Books of Hours and prayer books only one included pasted-in and partly coloured images: a Book of Hours written around 1500 that contains ten printed images.⁸⁰

Lindgren describes a woodcut with Brigittine iconography that might have been produced in Vadstena monastery, although she queries the identification of the artist as the Brother Gerhard who is said to have created the models for the woodcuts illustrating the 1492 edition of the complete works of St Birgitta.⁸¹ The model for the woodcut described by Lindgren was a copper engraving by the anonymous German 'Meister mit dem Dächlein' imported to Sweden from Germany.

Large numbers of printed images were produced, distributed and used within the European Brigittine network. Of particular significance for this study are the products of Dutch and German monasteries and convents that travelled to or directly affected production and use at Vadstena. Here, then, was an alternative network within northern European pre-Reformation print culture that operated alongside the formal book trade and the smuggling of Lutheran books into Scandinavia. Vadstena monastery was both a consumer of prints and images and an active distributor of the works of St Birgitta. Uppsala University Library owns a manuscript written in the Dutch Brigittine monastery of Marienwater in the early sixteenth century.⁸² This manuscript contains

79 Ibid., 75–78.

80 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gl. kgl. Saml. 1615, 4:0; *Middelalderens Danmark: Kultur og samfund fra trosskifte til reformation* (Copenhagen 1999), XXIV.

81 Mereth Lindgren, 'Himmels änglaskara och jordisk barnaskara – Om två birgittinska träsnitt', *Den ljusa medeltiden – Studier tillägnade Aron Andersson* (Stockholm 1983), 157–170, here 164–165.

82 Uppsala University Library MS C 803c; Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, vol. 6.

a Dutch translation of the *Revelationes* that is based upon the 1492 edition commissioned and supervised by Vadstena monastery; it is quite probable that the printed work the translation was based upon had been sent by the monks at Vadstena to the sisters and brothers in Marienwater, reversing on this occasion the traditional flow of European printed works.

Religious Orders and the Distribution of Printed Images

Other religious movements are also associated with specific iconographical and textual needs within regional networks. One such movement is the Rosary confraternity founded in Cologne in 1474, which soon attracted an expansive membership. The new medium of print immediately played a central role, enabling the transmission of the confraternity's statutes and central texts as the movement spread rapidly all over northern Europe. Alanus de Rupe founded a Rosary confraternity in Rostock in 1475. Local groups were established in Denmark in Slesvig in 1481, Roskilde in 1489, Odense in 1492, and Århus around 1500, and also in other locations.⁸³ The confraternity also put down roots in Sweden.⁸⁴ This movement had significant impact on Scandinavian pre-Reformation print culture. An early block print of the Madonna in the rosary that had apparently been produced outside Denmark is thought to have been the original of a mural painting in Århus Cathedral that is dated to around 1500.⁸⁵ We can also detect the impact of this movement on internal Danish book production. The *Expositio super rosario beatae Mariae virginis* was written in 1496 by a cleric called Michael at the command of the Danish queen Christine. The distribution of this text among 'husbands, wives, bachelors and maidens' [*maend, kvinder, svender og möer*]⁸⁶ was aided by the

83 Björn Poulsen, 'Fromhed og magt i senmiddelalderen: Rosenkransbroderskaberne i Slesvig og Odense', in *Gilder, lav og broderskaber i middelalderens Danmark*, ed. Lars Bisgaard and Leif Söndergaard (Odense 2002), 195–255, here 199–201.

84 Gottfrid Carlsson, 'Jungfru Marie psaltares brödraskap i Sverige: en studie i senmedeltida fromhetsliv och gilleväsen', *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* (1947), 1–49.

85 Gurli Sjö, 'Rosenkransmadonna og aflad: Århus domkirke o. 1500', in *Danske kalkmalerier: Sengotik 1475–1500* (Copenhagen 1991), 106–107. Tuija Binder, *Maria in Finland: vom Missale Aboense zu den Schriften Mikael Agricolae* (Helsinki 1996), a recent investigation of the role of the Virgin in Finnish liturgical and Reformation history does not consider the Virgin as an iconographical motive or the veneration of the Virgin as a driving force behind religious movements such as the confraternity of the Rosary.

86 Poulsen, 'Fromhed og magt', 204–205.

printing of the *Expositio* by Poul Raeff in Copenhagen in 1515.⁸⁷ Publishers, printers and bookbinders in several Danish cities were members of the confraternity, which seems to have provided opportunities for local encounters between participants in literary cultures. The publisher and book collector Hans Urne as well as a certain Villum Bogbinder (Bookbinder) were registered members of the confraternity in Odense according to the confraternity statutes of 1496.⁸⁸ In 1485, the printer journeyman Hinrich Roesrath of Valsberch was a member of the confraternity in Slesvig; he probably worked with Stephanus Arndes, who must also have been a member, during Arndes' stay in Slesvig in 1485–1486.⁸⁹

The Rosary confraternity was also active in Sweden. A copy now in Västerås of the rosary sermons of Cornelius de Sneki, a Dutch Dominican monk and preacher in Rostock, may have been acquired by a Swedish devotee of the Virgin and the rosary.⁹⁰ The Rosary confraternity was established in Rostock by Alanus de Rupe, then studying at Rostock University, who promoted the Rosary by publishing what he called the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Both the movement and the devotion to the Virgin according to the formula devised by de Rupe spread widely in Sweden via monks from Rostock and the Carthusian monastery in Mariefred, where de Rupe's *De dignitate et utilitate psalterii beatae Mariae virginis* was printed in 1498.⁹¹ This edition is not illustrated and therefore does not provide insight into the iconography of the Rosary confraternity, but it does suggest the dynamics of this late medieval religious movement. The edition was commissioned by Ingeborg Åkesdotter Tott, the wife of the Swedish regent Sten Sture. The book lacks information on the place of its printing, but a number of copies with similar handwritten annotations tell us that copies of this edition were to be distributed by Carthusians in a form of devotion on behalf of Ingeborg and her husband.⁹² This preface is found in identical form in four copies of this edition but is missing from a copy that once belonged to the Augustine regular canons in then-Danish Bordsesholm,

87 Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, no. 177.

88 Poulsen, 'Fromhed og magt', 205–206, 215.

89 Ibid., 222–223, 232.

90 Now in Västerås Stiftsbibliotek.

91 *Psalterium Virginis Mariae*, Gripsholm: Carthusian Monastery of Mariefred, 24 March 1498; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 160–169.

92 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 163: 'Hunc libellum fecit imprimi in Swecia apud Carthusienses generosa domina Ingeburgis quondam gubernatrix regni Swecie, committens predictis Carthusiensibus ad distribuendum istum et quosdam alios gratis ad loca religiosorum et ubi fructus inde fieri potuerit, petensque humiliter orare pro se et pro suo marito domino Stenone quondam gubernatore regni Swecie etc'.

where it was replaced by two annotations, one in Latin and one in German, that make evident that this specific copy was sent to Bordesholm by the Carthusians in Mariefred.⁹³ The second 'Swedish' edition of Alanus de Rupe's book, printed in 1506 in Lübeck, was also commissioned by a Swedish nobleman, Svante Sture.⁹⁴ De Rupe's psalter was translated into Danish and printed in 1514 in Copenhagen; no contemporary Swedish translation was printed.⁹⁵

The distribution of printed books seems to have been common also within the Brigittine order.⁹⁶ Vadstena monastery commissioned sixteen copies of the 1492 edition of St Birgitta's *Revelationes*, to be printed on parchment for distribution among distinguished institutions and individuals. In 1925, the National Library of Sweden acquired one of these parchment copies, which had been sent from Vadstena to the house of the Brigittines in Rome. An annotation explicitly relates that the monks at Vadstena had sent this specific copy through half of Europe, from Sweden to Rome.⁹⁷ Peder Månsson in his turn sent books from Rome to Vadstena.⁹⁸ An even earlier indication of the importance of Vadstena monastery as a centre not only for the production of manuscripts, but also for the distribution of the products of the printing press is that, according to Ingela Hedström, Vadstena probably sent a copy of Ghotan's 1483 Stockholm edition of the *Vita Catharinae* to the Brigittine monastery in Marienwater in Belgium. This copy has the inscription 'Pro monasterio ad aquam marie jn brabancia'.⁹⁹ According to a tradition referred to by Otto Janse, the abbess of Vadstena monastery distributed several copies of the *Vita cum*

93 Ibid., 'Liber sancte Marie virginis in bordesholm ordinis Canonicorum regularium sancti Augustini In ducatu Holtzacie, bremensis diocese Quem miserunt nobis venerabiles patres Carthusienses ex Swecia' and 'Dyt bock senden de cartusere vth zweden in dat closter tho borsholm'. Poulsen, *Fromhed og magt*, 239.

94 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 167.

95 Alanus de Rupe, *Om iomffru Marie rosenkrantz*, Copenhagen: Poul Raeff, 1514; Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, no. 177. The Swedish translation is preserved in the National Library of Sweden MS A 2.

96 While the production of the St Birgitta edition of 1492 seems to have been the only occasion on which the monastery itself engaged in printing, the Dominican nuns of the convent of San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence excelled in the production of devotional books in Italian and maintained a printing shop for a considerable time; see Helen M. Latham, *Dominican Nuns and the Book Arts in Renaissance Florence: The Convent of San Jacopo di Ripoli* (Ann Arbor 1990).

97 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 126–127: 'Liber domus hospitalis Ste Birgitte de Vrbe pope campum flore quem fratres monasterij Vastenensis miserunt ad vrbem'.

98 Stobaeus, *Från biskop Brasks tid*, 182–183.

99 Hedström, *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker*, 336.

miraculis b. Katherinae printed in Stockholm by Bartholomaeus Ghotan in 1487 among the most distinguished guests assembled in Vadstena on the occasion of the enshrinement of the bones of St Catherine in 1489.¹⁰⁰

Examples of the supplementation of the commercial book trade by monastic networks are few. Beyond these examples provided by Brigittines and the Carthusians in Sweden, we know virtually nothing of the movements of printed material among religious orders in Scandinavia. Certainly, images and whole sheets containing a multitude of identical printed woodcuts were acquired by monasteries and could have been used as devotional objects or to aid meditation. Broadsheets with a number of images would have been cut up and distributed within the monastery.¹⁰¹ The evidence may be limited, but it does tell of an effective ecclesiastical presence within Scandinavian distribution networks generated by a sense of mission. According to the *Pfundzollbücher* of Lübeck, as we have seen, the archbishop of Uppsala imported a large cargo of books in 1493. Throughout Scandinavia, bishops were engaged in commissioning and trading books, from Odense in Denmark to Trondheim in Norway, Linköping in Sweden and Turku/Åbo in Finland, to mention only the best documented cases.

A major part of the pre-Reformation book trade involved ecclesiastical infrastructures and religious movements. Scarcely any traces of that pre-Reformation book culture and especially of the reception of printed works have survived today, which makes the survival of a source such as manuscript Uppsala C618 all the more valuable.¹⁰² Part of this text was written as early as 1417, during the Council of Constance, and part over a century later, by Clemens Martini, a brother at Vadstena monastery. The Swedish section starts with folio 210 and contains quotations and cross-references to a number of contemporary works that suggest its author was familiar with continental anti-Lutheran publications. According to Per Stobaeus, the text of this manuscript refers to two works by Kaspar Schatzgeyer, *De vita Christiana et monastici institute ad eam optima quadratura*, first printed in Augsburg in 1524 and 1525, and

100 Otto Janse, *Medeltidsminnen från Östergötland* (Stockholm 1906), 170. There is no evidence, though, in the *Diarium Vadstenense*, the diary of the monastery in Vadstena, that could support this tradition.

101 The sheet parchment pasted in MS Copenhagen Det Kongelige Bibliotek Thott 117 8:0 consisting of four identical images of Veronica's veil seems to have been of German origin, and is dated 'after 1462' in Braaten, *Grafiska tryck*, 72–73, and '1472' in Ellen Jørgensen, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis* (Copenhagen 1926), 213. See Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 196–197.

102 Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, 6:127–134. Stobaeus, *Från biskop Braks tid*, 183–189.

Scrutinium divinae Scripturae, which was printed three times in 1522, in Augsburg, Basel and Cologne.¹⁰³ Hans Brask, bishop in Linköping, is known to have ordered a book by Schatzgeyer in a letter dated March 1525.¹⁰⁴ Between the discussion of these two works by Schatzgeyer is a chapter headed 'Lutheran error' [*lutersk villa*].¹⁰⁵ Although the specific source of this text has not yet been identified, it is clearly based upon knowledge of Lutheran writings, as is revealed by cross-references to works by Hieronymus Emser (*Missae Christianorum contra Lutheranam missandi formulam assertio*, first printed in 1524), John Fisher (probably his *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio*, printed in Paris in 1523) and Josse Clichtove (probably his *Antilutherus*, printed in Paris in 1524). The works by Fisher and Clichtove had been sent to Brask by the aforementioned Olaus Magnus. Brask seems to have shared books with Vadstena as well as with individual colleagues on a regular basis, to judge from the number of letters that deal with books. Two further books to which reference is made in C618 come from significant centres of European book production: from France comes a copy of Nicolaus Denyse's *Resolutio theologorum* (either Rouen 1506 or Lyons 1516) and from Nuremberg Jan Laski's *De Ruthenorum nationibus earumque erroribus* (presented at the Fifth Lateran Council in 1513 and printed in Nuremberg the following year).¹⁰⁶ The same text reveals a broader humanist perspective on literature and theology by means of cross-references to some of Philipp Melanchthon's earliest published commentaries on parts of the New Testament, as well as to a summary of the *Enchiridion* by Erasmus of Rotterdam first printed in 1515.¹⁰⁷

These books could have been sent to Vadstena by a variety of sources. Peder Månsson in Rome was himself influenced by Erasmus. Brask might have supplied at least some of these books, just as he has supplied the monastery so often during the early 1520s. Members of Vadstena monastery who had travelled abroad or played a significant role in local or regional literary and book culture acted, as we have seen, as literary agents, sources of information and distributors of printed books. Their importance was often linked to their geographical location (the house of the Brigittines in Rome) or specific interests (anti-Lutheran agitation), which, one way or the other, provided access to printed material. Almost all the literature imported to Scandinavia via these

103 Stobaeus' analysis is based upon identifications by several other authors; Stobaeus, *Från biskop Brasks tid*, 184ff.

104 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, no. 325.

105 Stobaeus, *Från biskop Brasks tid*, 185.

106 Ibid., 187, 189–190. Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, 182–183; no. 99.

107 Stobaeus, *Från biskop Brasks tid*, 191ff.

informal channels has disappeared, leaving behind only traces in the form of, for example, cross-references or summaries.

Indulgences, Crusades and Other Religious Movements

The early printed book history of Denmark and Sweden can be located within the context of the political structures of late medieval Europe, in particular the Roman Catholic Church, the Holy Roman Empire and the Hanseatic League. Singular processes also shaped that history. One such aspect is the crusades by western European Christianity in Asia Minor and the subsequent defence against the Islamic military offensive.¹⁰⁸ Both Denmark and Sweden also participated in other medieval crusades. Denmark fought against the Slavs on the southern shores of the Baltic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and used the term 'crusade' to describe its attempts to re-establish Norwegian-Icelandic settlements on Greenland in the sixteenth century; the Swedish crown conquered the eastern half of its territory from the heathen Finns. These forms of north European crusade occurred over many years, from the High Middle Ages to the post-Reformation period. From the turn of the twelfth century, both countries also contributed to papal crusades that were directed foremost against the Islamic rulers of the Holy Land. Later, when the Ottoman Empire extended its dominion over the islands of the eastern Mediterranean, Scandinavia contributed, for example, to the defence of Rhodes.

That crusades and spiritual welfare were intertwined is evident in one particular product of the printing press, the letter of indulgence. Acquisition of a letter of indulgence signals not only individual religiosity but also engagement with an international religious-political movement. Local or regional crusades did not have a European-wide audience whose purse strings were to be opened, nor did they generate domestically printed literature. The campaigns launched by the papacy, by contrast, were supranational in both intent and reach and sought to engage the whole of Christianity. Rome's crusade campaigns set the printing presses to work, and drew in funds from all over Europe. Scandinavia was visited frequently by collectors of contributions to the crusades and

108 Janus Möller Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades: 1400–1650* (Leiden and Boston 2007). As far as I know, there is no comparable analysis of Swedish involvement in international crusade movements, which would include crusading literature. It should be noted that Möller Jensen does not seem to recognise that it is important to distinguish between printed and handwritten letters of indulgence in order to tell local efforts from an international campaign.

sellers of letters of indulgence, often one and the same person. Only a few of these letters of indulgence have survived. One such letter, surely part of a substantial but otherwise lost edition, stems from Paulinus Chappe's campaign in northern Europe that stretched over the years 1452 to 1455.¹⁰⁹ The next major campaign reached Denmark in the middle of the 1470s and at least one of the letters issued in 1475 was printed. Letters issued in 1476 and mentioned by Janus Möller Jensen were likely part of the same campaign.¹¹⁰ Antonius Mast, sub-collector for Raymond [Raymundus] Peraudi in 1489–1490, carried with him 20,000 printed letters of indulgence, four examples of which we know to have been issued between January and July 1490.¹¹¹ Upon his arrival in Stockholm, Peraudi commissioned the printing of another 2000 letters.¹¹² We can assume that the 1501/1502 campaign by Peraudi and his vicars would have generated similar quantities of printed letters of indulgence.¹¹³

Printed letters of indulgence were not deemed so worthy or useful that they were preserved in libraries or archives; their survival is largely a matter of chance. Almost all of the letters preserved in Scandinavia were part of bindings. Letters of indulgence were sold for a particular purpose at a standard price and out with the network of bookbinders and booksellers. They were not regarded as part of a literary or book culture but rather formed a receipt, validated when issued and signed by a lawyer, which acknowledged a remission of sin.¹¹⁴ For legates, collectors and sub-collectors, the replacement of handwritten indulgences with printed versions brought economic advantages, but it also changed the way in which they communicated with the people. Printed long before they reached a specific country, such letters of indulgence had been transformed from a receipt marking a financial transaction between the faithful and the papal representative into an element of a marketing strategy devised before departure. According to Jensen, both Peraudi and Mast miscalculated the numbers of letters they thought they would be able to sell¹¹⁵ – just as a printer might miscalculate the market for an edition. Printers in

109 Ibid., 75–76.

110 Ibid., 122, 126.

111 Ibid., 123.

112 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 102–106.

113 Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades*, 123–124, 126.

114 Norman Housley, 'Indulgences for Crusading, 1417–1517', in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Robert N. Swanson (Leiden 2006), 277–307, here 286.

115 Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades*, 138.

Scandinavia were able to profit from commissions for the printing of letters of indulgence issued by the papal crusade legates or made necessary by demand at local churches. In 1484, Johann Snell in Stockholm printed letters of indulgence for Bartholomaeus de Camerino. Five years later and using the types of Bartholomaeus Ghotan who at that time had returned to Lübeck, an unknown printer printed an edition of the *Articuli abbreviati*, not a letter of indulgence in itself, but in part serving the same religious needs. In 1502, Matthaeus Brandis printed a letter of indulgence in Slesvig or Ribe (or Odense?) in Denmark as well as letters of confraternity commissioned by the Dominican order. Letters of indulgence were printed either in connection with the visits of papal legates or collectors of money to support the Christian crusades against the Turks (a form of Peter's Pence) or on commission by churches as they promoted their relics and prayers. Jensen is therefore not entirely correct to ascribe to Govert van Ghemen an initiative to print letters of indulgence in 1505; such letters were always commissioned by the church. Similarly, Ghemen's printing of the *Summa de poenitentia* by Pope Innocent IV was not related to a crusade campaign. In 1510 Govert van Ghemen did print at least three preserved letters of confraternity commissioned by parish churches in Randers and Præstø and by the Franciscan order in Denmark. In Sweden, in 1491 the monastery of Vadstena commissioned letters of participation in two versions, one for husbands and one for wives, to be printed by Bartholomeus Ghotan in Lübeck. This edition was followed by a new edition printed by Stephanus Arndes in Lübeck in 1500. At neither date was a substantial printing shop operating in Sweden. According to Collijn, the letter of participation issued by the Cistercian monastery of Gudsberga in northern Sweden in 1500 was printed in Sweden but by an unknown printer of whom no other printed work is known. Paul Grijs, the first Swedish printer in Uppsala, produced letters of participation such as those for the parish church of Söderköping in 1510 and nine years later for the parish church of Eskilstuna and also, in 1518, one of the last letters of indulgence to be printed in Scandinavia. The printing of indulgence-related literature in Scandinavia came to a close with Georg Richolff the Younger's 1525 edition of prayers of indulgence. Just like the papal legates, churches and religious orders who commissioned the printing of letters of participation had to calculate their financial investment against public demand and with profit margins in mind. We do not know if their calculations turned out well, although the issuing of a second edition of the letters of participation commissioned by Vadstena monastery suggests that the first edition sold out in less than ten years. Printing had become the standard for the production of religious documentation, and brought with it new ways of thinking, from calculations of edition size to contact with printers and the setting of prices.

The crusade campaigns that reached Scandinavia resulted also in the production of printed crusade literature, albeit on a minor scale. As far as we can establish, such works were produced in Denmark only, not in Sweden. The first book printed in Denmark was an edition of William Caoursin's account of the Turkish siege of Rhodes in 1480, *De obsidione et bello Rhodiano*, printed in Odense in 1482 by Johann Snell. The text was included in a collection of documents that reached Denmark as part of the literary luggage of Juan de Carduna, who arrived in Lübeck in 1480. Johann Snell, the printer, may have acquired some of the material in Lübeck before he moved temporally to Denmark, commissioned in 1482 to print the *Breviarium Ottoniense*. An interest in the crusades may have been aroused by the newssheets from Lübeck that are thought to have circulated in Denmark,¹¹⁶ although we do not know whether these newssheets were printed or had been written by hand. The VE 15 records a number of printed works related to the crusades against the Turks and especially to the siege of Rhodes that might have been found in both Denmark and Sweden. One of these newssheets contained Pierre d'Aubusson's *De obsidione urbis Rhodiae*, printed in Mainz after 13 September 1480. The only preserved copy is now in the National Library of Sweden.¹¹⁷ Caoursin's report of the siege of Rhodes was not translated and published in Danish until 1508, when *Tyrkens Tog til Rhodos 1480* appeared in Govert van Ghemen's edition, printed in Copenhagen. Laudivius' *Epistolae aureae Turci*, published by Melchior Blumme in Copenhagen in 1519, fed the interest in the crusades and the desire for information about this enemy of Christendom.

It is possible that north German printed texts and news about the crusades and the Turks circulated in Scandinavia before the Reformation. The rate of loss for such material is extremely high; its absence today is not necessarily an indicator that it did not exist. Such products surely formed one element of Scandinavian participation in an early modern communication and news culture that included the preaching of crusades and the sale of letters of indulgence.

On Artists and Patrons: Patterns for Mural Paintings

Very little of the printed illustrative material present in Scandinavia in the pre-Reformation period has survived. Explanations for this loss consider not just the

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 132.

¹¹⁷ VE 15 A516, vol. 2 p. 271, ascribed to the anonymous printer of the 'Prognosticatio'; modern shelf mark, National Library of Sweden inc. 1147; Undorf, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century*, no. 394. As Eisermann suggests in his commentary on VE 15, 2:462, other such printed works have not been preserved.

material on which such images appeared but also the use to which such images were put. Illustrated printed books, too, have also not survived intact. Sometimes individual sheets can be tracked down in bindings or as archival wrappers, but pages used as wrappers for fish or sweets or as plugs in canons are long gone. Yet the survival rate of books is still much higher than that of single broadsheets containing printed images. Such broadsheets were used in a fashion that resulted in a much higher level of loss; indeed, they have largely vanished completely. Traces of these images are scarce, with virtually all in the form of copies painted onto church walls. The motives of two woodcuts in a Koberger edition of the *Hortulus anime* printed in Nuremberg in 1518 were worked into a tapestry, with the copy of the *Hortulus anime* apparently provided by Erik Andersson, dean of Oviken parish church in northern Sweden. The tapestry has survived in Oviken parish church, while the book or woodcuts used as patterns are lost.¹¹⁸

This section looks at the remains of some of these prints and the traces they have left in Scandinavian religious art. Comparatively large numbers of wall paintings in medieval Scandinavian churches in Denmark, Sweden and Finland have been preserved and studied.¹¹⁹ Around 1450, wall paintings became less descriptive, abandoning a more epic style in favour of a programmatic character surrounding a central theme. This change coincides with changes in the character of the sermon and preaching.¹²⁰ The discussion here approaches wall paintings in light of the engagement of priests, patrons and painters with illustrative material. Pre-Reformation sermon literature distributed in printed editions could be accompanied, for example, by printed images. Printed images that come along with printed texts appear to have provided models for parish priests or painters more frequently than single woodcuts, metal engravings or block books. Those involved in commissioning and creating images were often members of social groupings with access to iconographic material, for example, noblemen, priests and congregations, and sometimes also painters.¹²¹

118 Maj Nodermann, 'Sankt Göran i Kinderåsen: En målning från Jämtlands oroliga 1500-tal', *Formvårdaren* 28 (1994), 24–25.

119 A short, general overview with references to relevant literature from the three countries in question is given by Anna Nilsén, 'Man and Picture: On the Function of Wall Paintings in Medieval Churches', in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout 2003), 323–340. Margareta Kempff (*Johannes Stenrat och Hans Hesse: Den senmedeltida verkstadens produktion* [Stockholm 1994], 28–42) addresses patterns and their importance for the creation of new art objects; she focuses on two Lübeck-based artists and provides no new evidence about Scandinavian artists.

120 Nilsén, 'Man and Picture', 324, 331.

121 *Ibid.*, 336f.

In Scandinavia, printed material, primarily broadsheets, were used in the decoration of the houses of clerics and laymen as well as churches, chapels and monasteries. They might provide access to the work of late medieval artists, but so too could they be semi-anonymous archaic woodcuts representing the Virgin. Throughout Europe, such images were widely sold at markets and used to decorate walls within private houses, and in contemporary sources they are known as ‘malede breve’, illustrated or painted letters.¹²² Such visual material took various forms, but could primarily be found in broadsheets, sometimes in the form of a series of pictures as found in block books from the earliest years of printing or as a series of engravings by artists of some renown, such as Albrecht Dürer. Individual Scandinavian artists and schools of painters increasingly used this visual material as a model for their decoration of churches.¹²³

Traditionally, scholars and curators have taken different approaches to printed books and printed visual images, with the latter all too often missing from both library catalogues and Scandinavian book history. Yet books and visual images were printed by the same craftsmen, sold at the same markets and often, but not always, acquired by the same people. The dominant presence of the picture and the near absence or complete absence of text made these products of the printing press appealing to consumers beyond the literate, often academic or ecclesiastical, purchaser of texts or books. Ulla Haastrup has suggested that these prints might have been owned by the artists who decorated the churches or by the clergy who commissioned them.¹²⁴ To this list can be added members of the nobility, both female and male. We might distinguish here between readers of texts and viewers of art, although the two roles

122 Ulla Haastrup, ‘Bongen af forlaeg i Claus Bergs vaerkstaed i Odense i 1. fjerdedel af 1500-tallet’, in *Imagines medievales: studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konsthantverk*, ed. Rudolf Zeitler and Jan O.M. Karlsson (Uppsala and Stockholm 1983), 113–130. The German technical term is ‘Briefinaler’, which parallels the Danish translation for this artist’s products, i.e., *malede breve* or painted letters; Wolfgang Brückner, *Populäre Druckgraphik Europas: Deutschland vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969), 8.

123 Ulla Haastrup, ‘Danske kalkmalerier 1475–1500’, *Danske kalkmalerier: Sengotik 1475–1500* (Copenhagen 1991), 12–49, here 13. The existence of printed patterns owned by artists is known to art historians in other countries. Roger Rosewell (*Medieval Wall Paintings in British and Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge 2008), 121) notes for example that ‘[Professional artists] may also have kept books/folders containing cartoons and woodcut prints, similar to those used by manuscript and glass painters’. Characteristically, though, none of these products of the printing press have been included in catalogues of incunabula or early sixteenth century printed books.

124 Haastrup, ‘Dansk kirkekunst’, 111, 116.

are not independent of each other. Patronage was a broad field: while readers donated books to churches, sponsors of art supplied painters with visual material as models, or at least inspiration, for the decoration of churches. Unfortunately, the identities of these donors are largely unknown to us today. What we do know of the decoration of churches with mural paintings by both foreign and local artists suggests that patronage was a crucial factor in the nature of the artistic programmes, with their specific iconographic features, that were projected onto the walls of churches.

Models for Church Paintings in Denmark

The market for woodcuts and copper engravings appears to have flourished in Denmark, even outside the major cities. We know, for example, that visual material could be purchased at the market held in the Danish provincial town of Odense, where the Danish queen Christine acquired several coloured woodcuts or metal engravings.¹²⁵ According to Henrik Horstbøll, a block print showing the Virgin with cornstalk and dated around 1475 was bought at the Dråby market on the Danish island of Djursland.¹²⁶ This block print was found in Dråby parish church when the church was renovated at the end of the nineteenth century, an exceptional tale of survival very different from the fate that met almost all late medieval block books and printed visual material.¹²⁷ With such limited survival of material, we can reconstruct very little of the printed picture business. Only glimpses remain. A block print that has not survived seems to have been one of the souvenirs Barbara Brahe brought home from her pilgrimage to Rome in the holy year 1475. According to Haastrup, Brahe made this print available to the painter who decorated Brunnby parish church in what is now southern Sweden sometime after 1475.¹²⁸

Haastrup has identified and analysed originals on which church art in Denmark before the Reformation was based,¹²⁹ stressing throughout her work that illustrated books and broadsheets containing the originals of church paintings have been neglected as sources for the history of print culture.¹³⁰ These originals appear to have come largely from block book editions of the

¹²⁵ Haastrup, 'Bongen', 117.

¹²⁶ Horstbøll, *Menigmænds medie*, 218–219.

¹²⁷ Haastrup, 'Dansk kirkekunst', 106–107, 118.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 107–110.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 105–128.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

Biblia Pauperum or printed editions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.¹³¹ Haastrup identified both works as providing originals used by the so-called Isefjord workshop in the second half of the fifteenth century and the Elmelunde, Brarup and Everløf workshops of the early sixteenth century.¹³² A number of each of these works must have been present in Scandinavia, either in the possession of painters and their workshops or circulated from church to church, or between church and clergy, but none have survived.¹³³ Only occasionally do we meet other books as models, such as an illustrated, yet unidentified printed edition of the travels of Mandeville.¹³⁴ It is usually impossible to identify and date specific editions, although one exception is a Dutch block book dated around 1475, an edition of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* that was used in the decoration of Slemminge parish church.¹³⁵ The anonymous artist who executed the mural paintings inside Tortuna parish church on the then-Danish island of Gotland around 1500 was certainly influenced by the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.¹³⁶

Another group of originals consists of prints dated between 1480 and 1515 by well-known artists such as Israel von Meckenem, who was from the Low Countries. A copper engraving from about 1480 of the so-called *Morrisdansen* was used as a model by the painter who decorated Vrangstrup parish church between 1490 and 1500.¹³⁷ Other originals that have been identified consist of some thirty prints by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder, as well as single items executed by Hans Brüggeman and other northern European artists.¹³⁸ Haastrup has not been able to identify any Danish printed visual material that might have been used in the same way.¹³⁹ Like inexpensive printed visual works, church murals were often commissioned, located and created with the needs of the 'pauperes', the spiritually poor, in mind, which explains the numerous references to the *Biblia Pauperum* or the *Speculum humanae vitae*. As we have seen, patrons, coordinators and artists could also have other

131 *Danske kalkmalerier*, 129, 131, 140, 148–149.

132 Haastrup, 'Dansk kirkekunst', 106–110, 111–119.

133 *Ibid.*, 111, 116.

134 *Ibid.*, 119–120.

135 *Ibid.*, 116–119.

136 Anna Nilsén, 'Kalkmålningarna i Tortuna kyrka', in *Imagines medievales: studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konsthantverk*, ed. Rudolf Zeitler and O.M. Karlsson (Stockholm 1983), 293–336, here 323.

137 Annette Jung, 'Morrisdansen i Vrangstrup kirke 1490–1500', *Danske kalkmalerier: Sengotik 1475–1500* (Copenhagen 1991), 92–95.

138 Haastrup, 'Dansk kirkekunst', 120–124.

139 *Ibid.*, 124–125.

iconographic sources in mind, such as a Book of Hours or the works of Albrecht Dürer. The Odense based workshop of Claus Berg from Lübeck, called on by the German-born Danish queen Christine, frequently used printed illustrated sheets as originals. Haastrup has identified two generations of north European artists, covering the years 1475 to 1512, whose works inspired Claus Berg: Albrecht Dürer (16 engravings), Lucas Cranach the Elder (15 prints), Israel von Meckenem (3 prints), Martin Schongauer (1 print) and the artist of Zwolle in the Netherlands known only by his initials *IAM* (1 print).¹⁴⁰ Queen Christine may have owned or at least had in her possession prints bought at the local market, for an entry from the royal archives cited by Haastrup reads, 'In 1505 16 painted letters were bought for 4 Mark...1507 4 Rheinisch Gilders were paid for painted letters'.¹⁴¹

Queen Christine and Barbara Brahe are two of a small number of patrons of church art whom we know to have been active in providing artists with printed graphic originals.¹⁴² Although the names of further secular patrons of churches are known to us, none of them has been explicitly connected with buying or owning books, woodcuts or copper engravings.¹⁴³ A member of the southern German Danube workshop who was active in Denmark made use of the same well-known originals by artists such as Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the elder, Israel von Meckenem and Martin Schongauer.¹⁴⁴ Printed originals can also be found for some motives that appear infrequently in mural paintings – a series of unidentified Flemish copper engravings provided the originals for the magnificent image of nine chivalric heroes painted around 1520 on the walls of Dronningholm parish church in Denmark.¹⁴⁵ During the years 1513 to 1523, a mural painting consisting of pictures of twenty-four Carmelite monks was executed inside the church of the Carmelite monastery in Saeby, Denmark. The paintings, which identified outstanding representatives of the Carmelite

140 Haastrup, 'Bongen', 113, 116–118.

141 '1505 gav man 4 mr. for 16 malede brev...1507 betaltes 4 rhinske gylden for malede brev'; Haastrup, 'Bongen', 117, n. 12.

142 Scandinavian research on patrons has focused entirely on relations and friendship; see, for example, *Vänner, patroner och klienter i Norden 900–1800: rapport till 26:e Nordiska historikermötet i Reykjavik den 8–12 augusti 2007*, ed. Lars Hermanson (Reykjavik 2007). Patronage as used here in my study includes a patron and an institution, say a church, with the artist as intermediary or recipient of artistic originals.

143 Ulla Haastrup, 'Danske kalkmalerier 1500–1536', *Danske kalkmalerier: Sengotik 1500–1536* (Copenhagen 1992), 73–75.

144 Haastrup, 'Bongen', 118.

145 Kirsten Lading Bidsted, 'De ni Helte', *Danske kalkmalerier: Sengotik 1500–1536* (Copenhagen 1992), 162–165.

tradition, together with corresponding text ribbons, were modelled after the originals in Johannes Trithemius' *De laudibus ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum* printed in Mainz in 1494.¹⁴⁶ In the years shortly before the establishment of the Reformation, motives taken from popular propaganda prints found their way onto church walls, too. In the Danish parish church of Brøns, one can still see two elaborate paintings, executed perhaps in the 1520s but not later than the mid-1530s, that are the offspring of illustrated propaganda broadsheets published in Germany and the Netherlands. The original of one of these two paintings has been identified as a woodcut by Sebald Beham that accompanies satirical verse by Hans Sachs published in 1524.¹⁴⁷ The paintings seem to have been executed by Danish artists who owned copies of these – and probably other – early Protestant propaganda broadsheets.

Models for Church Paintings in Sweden and Finland

Research into the originals used by church painters in Sweden started in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁸ Some of the originals are the same as those used by artists active in Denmark, but we also encounter new models. Henrik Cornell and Sigurd Wallin have identified Albert the painter, or Albertus Pictor, who was active from the late 1460s, as the first painter in Sweden to have deployed images found in the *Biblia Pauperum*, in the 1470s.¹⁴⁹ Haastrup characterises Pictor as a significant consumer of the illustrations of the *Biblia*

146 Kaare Rübner Jørgensen, *Karmeliterne i Saeby Kirke* (Copenhagen 1978), 15–17. Kaare Rübner Jørgensen, 'Munke og nonner på danske kirkevaegge: Nogle refleksioner over karmelitermunkene i saeby Kirke', *Billedet og historien – Middelalderen og de visuelle kilder* (Højbjerg 2008), 101–110. The date of 1492 given by Langkilde, *Libri monasteriorum*, 37, is incorrect and neglects the bibliographical evidence.

147 *Danmarks kirker. Sønderjylland XX: Tønder Amt*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen 1955), 1225. Lichtenberg does not provide an exact date for this work, no copy of which seems to have survived in Denmark; Hanne Honnens de Lichtenberg, *Tro, håb & forføngelighed: kunstneriske udtryksformer i 1500-tallets Danmark* (Copenhagen 1989), 62.

148 Anna Nilsén, *Program och funktion i senmedeltida kalkmåleri: kyrkmålningar i Mälارlandskapen och Finland 1400–1534* (Stockholm 1986) gives a general overview of painters, workshops and mural paintings in churches around Lake Mälaren in central Sweden but does not mention any originals.

149 Henrik Cornell and Sigurd Wallin, *Uppsvenska målarskolor på 1400-talet* (Stockholm 1933). A recent monograph on Albert Pictor and the motives of his painting does not reveal anything new about his sources; Pia Melin, *Fäfangans förgänglighet: allegorin som livs- och lärospegel hos Albertus Pictor* (Stockholm 2006), 33ff, 204 nos. 49–50.

Pauperum.¹⁵⁰ His paintings in Solna parish church were based, however, on a different model, the woodcuts of a xylographic edition of the *Ars Moriendi*. Among his sources we also find woodcut illustrations of the Antichrist that originated in separately published broadsheets or printed books and an illustrated German New Year's greeting dated around 1475. His decoration of Härkeberga parish church drew on the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as well as copper engravings by Meister E.S. dated between the 1440s and 1460s.¹⁵¹ The use of works by Meister E.S. has also been confirmed for sculptor Jordan Målare, who was active in central Sweden during the 1460s.¹⁵²

An unknown Swedish artist used the illustrations in an unidentified copy of Bartholomaeus Ghotan's 1492 edition of the works of St Birgitta in the decoration of Knutby parish church.¹⁵³ A copy of an unidentified woodcut edition of the *Biblia Pauperum* is said to have been in the possession of another artist active in central Sweden.¹⁵⁴ Virtually every individual painter or workshop at some point used prints as inspiration and as the source of artistic forms and specific details. Painters Peter and Albertus Pictor used the *Biblia Pauperum* around 1463.¹⁵⁵ Söderberg also lists as sources the *Miracles of the Anti-Christ*, anonymous block books and other as yet unidentified prints.¹⁵⁶ It seems likely that the *Physiologus* was used by Amund and other Swedish church painters.¹⁵⁷ Graphic works by Israel von Meckenem were used by both German and Swedish artists in producing the altarpieces found in Sweden.¹⁵⁸ Mereth Lindgren, also an art historian, identified pre-Reformation sources that were used by church painters active in both Sweden and Finland after 1530, among them the Low German Lübeck Bible of 1494, used as a model in Storkyro parish church in Finland after 1560.¹⁵⁹ Petrus von Rosenheim's *Rationarium Evangelistarum* of 1505 served as model for the symbols of the evangelists in Vika parish church and in Ekeby parish church in Sweden after 1520.¹⁶⁰

150 Haastrup, 'Dansk kirkekunst', 115.

151 Cornell and Sigurd Wallin, *Uppsvenska målarskolor*, 51, 54, 62, 66–67.

152 Margareta Kempff, 'Jordan Målare', *Antikvariskt arkiv* 72 (1985), 29–39, here 29–33.

153 Cornell and Sigurd Wallin, *Uppsvenska målarskolor* 59.

154 Ibid., 64 with reference to older research.

155 Bengt G. Söderberg, *Svenska kyrkomålningar från medeltiden* (Stockholm 1951), 214–215, 269.

156 Ibid., 256.

157 Ibid., 270.

158 Haastrup, 'Dansk kirkekunst', 122.

159 Mereth Lindgren, *Att ära och pryda: Om efterreformatoriska kyrkmålningar i Sverige cirka 1530–1630* (Stockholm 1983), 61.

160 Lindgren, *Att ära och pryda*, 55, 221.

Dürer's small copperplate *Passio Christi*, printed in Nuremberg between 1507 and 1512, was copied in detail by later painters when decorating a number of Swedish parish churches – by Peder the painter in the 1620s in Bälinge, Tystberga and Tuna, and by Mats the painter in Vårdsberga in 1615.¹⁶¹ Lindberg identified metal-cut illustrations from a French Book of Hours as the model for work by the painter Erik Nilsson in Morkarla parish church in the diocese of Uppsala.¹⁶² From the end of the pre-Reformation period, we hear of a tapestry produced in Oviken in the Swedish province of Jämtland.¹⁶³ Nodermann traces the origins of this tapestry to Oviken parish church and suggests its Passion motive is based upon an edition of the *Hortulus Anime* printed in Nuremberg in 1518.¹⁶⁴ The owner of this book has been identified as one Erik Andersson, deacon at Oviken church. A sequence of mural paintings on the subject of the life and martyrdom of St Erasmus is found in Tortuna parish church, in the diocese of Västerås; at least one of the scenes depicted on the southern wall of the western vault has a direct iconographic parallel in a south German woodcut.¹⁶⁵

A particularly Swedish example is provided by the iconography connected to St Birgitta, which was developed as early as the fourteenth century and mainly distributed within the networks of the Brigittine monasteries and the high nobility. Illustrations included in printed books were spread widely. Brigittine iconography was also present in parish churches as models for paintings and sculptures. While a wooden sculpture in Njutånger parish church tells only of the general presence of Brigittine monks in printed pictures,¹⁶⁶ the mural paintings at Tolfta and Knutby parish churches can be linked directly to woodcuts found in printed books. Paintings in Tolfta were modelled on a woodcut in Zeininger's Nuremberg edition of 1481 illustrating St Birgitta's revelations, the German *Burde der Welt*. The woodcut in question seems also to have been distributed separately, sometimes in colour.¹⁶⁷ The same woodcut may have been the model for a winged altarpiece in Törnvalla parish church.¹⁶⁸ The artist responsible for the mural paintings in Knutby seems to have copied

161 Ibid., 140, 184f, 221.

162 *Hore diue virginis Marie*, Paris: Hardouyn, [1511]; Anatole Alés, *Bibliothèque liturgique: Description des livres de liturgie* (Paris 1878), 184. Lindgren, *Att ära och pryda*, 75ff, 221.

163 Nodermann, *Sankt Göran*, 24–25, 46.

164 The VD16 records 4 German editions and 1 Latin edition from the same year.

165 Oloph Odenius, *En märklig Sankt Erasmussvit i Tortuna kyrka* (Tortuna 1967), 2–4.

166 Lindgren, *Bilden av Birgitta*, 84, ill. 80 and 84.

167 Ibid., 40, 88.

168 Ibid., 90–91, 93.

the woodcuts in the 1492 complete Latin edition of the *Revelationes*.¹⁶⁹ A woodcut from the same printed edition was the model for a mural painting in Harap parish church in the province of Uppland, diocese of Uppsala; the original has not been preserved. Yet another copy has survived, pasted into a manuscript from Vadstena monastery.¹⁷⁰

We cannot provide figures for the number of printed images possessed or available to clergy and laity and to patrons and painters. The artists and works named in the literature, however, along with the receptivity of the Scandinavian market and the printing and distribution of new editions suggest that our picture of pre-Reformation printing in Scandinavia would be inaccurate if we did not acknowledge the scale of the printed images it contained.¹⁷¹ Printed images provided patrons and artists with models of religious iconography that they were not slow to incorporate into their own programmes and production. Scandinavian pre-Reformation printed culture was not based exclusively upon the technology of the printed book, for distribution of printed visual art also played a significant role. Printed texts and printed visual material were complementary elements within the history of media and the book trade.

Tracing the Culture of Lost Printed Texts: Originals, Translations and Adaptations

In the decades before the Reformation, Scandinavia was open to material and intellectual influences from the European continent.¹⁷² The technical, quantitative and bibliographical dimensions of this import trade and the response to Latin and German models remain desiderata of book scholarship. What, too, of the intellectual influences of these works on readers and book owners in Scandinavia?¹⁷³ A number of studies have addressed the intellectual influences on specific fields of Scandinavian intellectual history: canon and Roman

169 Ibid., 180–111.

170 Stockholm, the National Library of Sweden, Cod. Holm. A43, fol. 105v; Hedström, *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker*, 233.

171 Ulla Haastrup, 'Pictures in Both Books and Churches – Biblia Pauperum and Speculum Humanae Salvationis Reflected in Danish Ecclesiastical Art', in *Living Words & Luminous Pictures: Medieval Book Culture in Denmark*, ed. Erik Petersen (Copenhagen 1999), 127–144, here 142.

172 Härdelin, *Världen som yta*, 198ff, gives an overview of international sources that can be detected in literary expressions of Swedish medieval spirituality.

173 Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomsistoria*, vol. 1: *Medeltiden. Reformationsstiden* (Stockholm 1975).

law,¹⁷⁴ intellectual life in the diocese of Linköping in Sweden,¹⁷⁵ the Swedish reformer, humanist and historian Olaus Petri¹⁷⁶ and the Danish historian Peder Olsen (Petrus Olaus).¹⁷⁷ But such studies do not necessarily broaden our knowledge of book culture and the book trade for they do not necessarily consider, for example, the specific edition read, referred to or translated by a Scandinavian author. By identifying, and evaluating, influences on Scandinavian texts, we are able to trace printed books that were once in Scandinavian holdings but have long since disappeared. We have to raise our awareness of the existence of a much larger book culture, of many more people who consumed books and of a wider society reached by the products of the printing press. This perspective then opens up new fields of research, revealing the extent to which Scandinavia was part of European literary life.

Members of the educated and literate social classes in Scandinavia could read and understand Low German and were therefore natural targets for those seeking to sell works in Low German.¹⁷⁸ Such works, as well as works in other languages such as Latin, were also translated into one of the Scandinavian vernacular languages. Translations of texts from printed originals and preserved in manuscript give witness to the presence of these texts and editions in Scandinavia. Translations, the echoes of original texts heard in a specific literary culture, have been largely neglected within book history. Translation is the most elaborate process of adaptation. Jette Corfitzen has identified with some certainty that the Middle Low German edition of Eucharius Rösslins' *Der swan-gere frawen vnd hebammen rosengarten* printed in Hagenau in 1513 is the

174 Korpiola, *On the Reception* refers also to earlier cases, such as Hans Brask.

175 Kjell O. Lejon, *Diocese Lincopensis II: Medeltida internationella influenser* (Linköping 2005), *passim*.

176 Gunnar T. Westin, *Historieskrivaren Olaus Petri: Svenska krönikans källor och krönikeförfattarens metod* (Lund 1946), 137–139, 141. According to Westin one of the printed editions of Albert Krantz' *Saxonia* was one of Olaus Petri's main printed sources. Olle Ferm, *Olaus Petri och Heliga Birgitta: synpunkter på ett nytt sätt att skriva historia i 1500-talets Sverige* (Stockholm 2007), 132–152, protested against Westin's assumption and allowed for only one printed pre-Reformation source, an edition of the works of Polybius. There is, though, a copy of Krantz' *Saxonia* in the National Library of Sweden in a contemporary north German binding with an annotation of the price of the book in Lübeck currency at the top of the title page. This book, with a couple of signs pointing at a contemporary north German-Swedish provenance, could indeed have been Olaus Petri's copy.

177 Jörgen Nybo Rasmussen, *Broder Peder Olsen som de danske franciskaneres historieskriver* (Copenhagen 1976).

178 The collection of naval laws and regulations known as the *Gotlansche Waterrecht* was printed in Low German in Copenhagen in 1505; Rösler, 'Dat Gotlansche Waterrecht'.

original of a Danish translation.¹⁷⁹ We do not know whether the copy of the 1513 edition today in the Royal Library in Copenhagen has a pre-Reformation Danish provenance. We can add the copy used by the unknown translator but now probably lost to our list of printed works present in Scandinavia before the Reformation.

Kurt Erich Schöndorf describes in some detail the Icelandic translation of twenty-five legends preserved in manuscript.¹⁸⁰ He identifies as the primary original the Middle Low German edition of the *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, *Der Heiligen Leben*, published in Lübeck in 1492.¹⁸¹ The translation into Icelandic, formerly dated between 1504 and 1506, appears to have been produced in manuscript in Bergen, Norway, after 1507. Schöndorf argues that the first printed edition of the so-called *St.-Annen-Büchlein*, published in 1507 in Braunschweig in northern Germany, was a second and complementary original used by the unknown translator.¹⁸² Today, three copies of the 1492 *Heiligen Leben* are preserved in Denmark and one in Sweden. There is no record of the *St.-Annen-Büchlein* in either country. There is also no record that either of the books was present in Norway in the relevant years. It is possible that one of the Danish or Swedish copies has Norwegian provenance and therefore also possible connections to the translation. In line with Schöndorf, we can assume that both books were part of an intellectual book-based culture that existed in Bergen in 1507. Bergen was an important part of the Hanseatic trade network and the town's links to Lübeck and to products imported into Norway, and to Bergen in particular, could certainly have included printed books such as the *Heiligen Leben* and the *St.-Annen-Büchlein*.

Transcription was a common practice in Scandinavia. Another manuscript preserved in the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm Codex Holm. A 40, contains a Danish transcription of Christiern Pedersen's *Tidebog*, printed in Paris in 1514. The translation was finished some time between 1517 and 1519; although the translator is unknown, fortunately we are able to localize quite a number of translations to the Brigittine monastery at Vadstena in Sweden.

179 Jette Corfitzen, 'Die Übersetzung von "Der swangeren frawen vnd hebammen rosegarten" (1513) ins Dänische', *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien IV: Akten des 4. Nordischen Symposiums* (Berlin 1993), 154–158.

180 The National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, Codex Holm. 3; Schöndorf, *Der Gebrauch volkssprachlicher Texte*, 201–203.

181 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia* [Low German] *Dat Duytsche Passionael*, Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes, 19 November 1492, ISTC ij00172600.

182 *HYr in dussem brocklin.|| Findeth men Schrone || vnd nutsche lere gebe||de v ~ n genrochlike mate =||rie (...)*, Braunschweig: Hans Dorn, 1507, VD 16 S 3410, which contains, according to the title, at least 5 texts related to St. Anne.

The sisters in Vadstena monastery displayed considerable skills in copying both Latin and Swedish texts, and the brothers assisted them with translations into Swedish, which were usually commissioned by the abbess. So far, however, we know of only one occasion on which the translation was made from a Swedish printed original. Alanus de Rupe's psalter of the Virgin Mary had been printed in 1498 in Mariefred under the title *De dignitate et utilitate psalterii b. Mariae virginis*.¹⁸³ Almost a generation later, under Abbess Katarina Eriksdotter, the book was translated into Swedish by a nun at the Vadstena monastery. Copied and completed in 1534, the *Jungfru Maria Psaltare* was one of the last books to be written in Vadstena.¹⁸⁴ The only copy of Gerard Leeu's Low German edition of *Paris et Vienne*, printed in Antwerp in 1488, that is known to have been in Sweden before the Reformation was acquired in Linköping, apparently by Bishop Hans Brask.¹⁸⁵ The Low German text of this edition was the point of departure for Hans Spegelberg when he created a Swedish version of this romance in 1523. With this information in hand, we can connect the copy of the 1488 edition of *Paris et Vienne* now preserved in Uppsala to Bishop Hans Brask and the literary culture of the late medieval cathedral library in Linköping.

In other instances our identification of the connection between the original and its translation is less certain, as far as Swedish provenance is concerned. But we can assume with greater certainty that these translations were based on printed editions. A late nineteenth century series of editions of medieval Swedish texts in the vernacular provides one example. In the early sixteenth century, Swedish medical doctor Peder Månsson translated *De consideratione quintae essentiae omnium rerum* by Jean de Roquetaillade, also known as Johannes de Rupescissa.¹⁸⁶ Månsson's manuscript has been cautiously dated to the early 1520s. At least two editions – one printed in Venice in 1514 and one printed in Augsburg four years later – of the considerable number of sixteenth-century editions of this work existed at the time Månsson undertook his translation. Månsson may well have used one of these editions as his original. If his translation was completed in Rome, where Månsson lived for some time, the original may never have been in Scandinavia, but if the date of the manuscript

183 Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, 160–169.

184 Rajamaa, *Systrarnas verksamhet*, 217–218.

185 Mante, *Paris und Vienna*, XXXVI–XXXVIII, XLIII–XLVI.

186 This translation has been preserved in manuscript in Linköping Stiftsbibliotek, HS J:8; published in Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Läke- och örteböcker från Sveriges medeltid* (Stockholm 1883–1886), 500, 503–504. Per-Gunnar Ottosson, 'Sveriges medeltida läkeböcker', *Sydsvenska medicinhistoriska sällskapets årsskrift* 14 (1977), 124–165.

corresponds with that of the translation, then manuscript and original would have both been in Sweden.¹⁸⁷

At a greater remove from the printed original are adaptations of an original or Scandinavian vernaculars influenced by a printed original. Here religious texts are an obvious example, especially prayer books, which were consumed – both used and now lost – in great number. Analysis of Scandinavian prayer books and their European role models has largely concentrated on issues of literary tradition and the qualities and theological content of translations, adaptations or independent domestic creations. Its focus is often on the High Middle Ages and the Reformation, but not on the period immediately before the Reformation. Sigfrid Estborn's study of Swedish Protestant prayer books in the Reformation includes lengthy chapters on medieval Swedish prayers and prayer books, but he does not address the question of whether these prayers had printed European originals, and if so, when and where that work was translated.¹⁸⁸ German medieval and Protestant prayer books undoubtedly provided models for domestic Swedish creations and they were the originals of direct translations into Swedish.¹⁸⁹ Estborn does make reference to two printed books that contained translations into Swedish of texts in Latin: in Uppsala in 1514 Paul Grijs printed a translation of Jean Gerson's *Ars moriendi* that was based upon older Swedish translations that this edition in turn was intended to replace; in Uppsala in 1525 Jürgen Richolff printed *Vor fruwe tydher paa swenska*, a Swedish prayer book firmly rooted in the continental Books of Hours tradition.¹⁹⁰ These two Swedish printed works may have been based upon editions of both texts printed abroad and readily available to these two printer-bookseller-book binders. Estborn's work does not allow us to reconstruct the books that were in the possession of the Swedish translators, but we know that other works printed abroad were used as master copies in the production of both printed and handwritten books in Scandinavia. Hedström has shown that Olaus Ulrici's edition of *Att höra mässan* ['To hear the Mass'], printed in 1523 in Söderköping in Bishop Hans Brask's short-lived

187 On Peder Månsson's contribution to Swedish pre-Reformation medicine see Gunnar Broberg, 'Liten svensk medicinshistoria', in *Til at stwdera läkedom: tio studier i svensk medicinshistoria*, ed. Gunnar Broberg (Lund and Stockholm 2008), 9–50, here 12, and Charlotte Christensen Nugnes, 'Skolmedicinen i det medeltida Sverige', in *Til at stwdera*, ed. Broberg, 61–78, here 61.

188 Sigfrid Estborn, *Evangeliska svenska bönböcker under reformationstidevarvet: med en inledande översikt över medeltidens och över reformationstidens evangeliska tyska bönelitteratur* (Stockholm 1929), 7–116.

189 *Ibid.*, 57.

190 *Ibid.*, 55–56.

printing shop, was at least in part based upon the Danish writer Christiern Pedersen's editions of this text, and probably on the edition printed in Paris in 1514. Pedersen's works were widespread in Sweden too, especially the Paris editions from the first half of the 1510s whose publication he himself had supervised. His Danish edition of the Book of Hours, *Vor Frue Tider*, and his text on the Mass, *At høre Messe*, were transcribed by, amongst others, Danish and Swedish Brigittine nuns.

Bartholomaeus Ghotan is known as a printer and bookseller in both Lübeck and Scandinavia, although there is no direct evidence of his selling books. From a very small legacy he left in Russia as a result of his otherwise most unfortunate travels to Novgorod, we can deduce something of his business in Stockholm and Turku/Åbo. According to Sigfrid Henry Steinberg, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, manuscripts derived from products of Ghotan's press still circulated in Novgorod.¹⁹¹ These manuscripts contained translations of German books such as a dialogue between life and death, the history of Troy, an account of the tyrant Dracolewyda, a *Lucidarius* and others. All of these translations were based on Low German works printed in Lübeck between 1478 and 1485. Ghotan twice touched Swedish soil, first when he moved to Stockholm in 1486 to print liturgical handbooks for, amongst others, the archbishop of Uppsala, and the second time around 1493, when he visited Turku/Åbo on his way to Russia. It is certainly possible that on both occasions he carried with him copies of these and/or other books. The copies that reached Novgorod may have been all that was left of the printed copies Ghotan had taken with him to be sold in Sweden and Turku/Åbo. None of these Low German prints have survived in Scandinavia.

191 Sigfrid Henry Steinberg, *Boktryckarkonst och bokhistoria genom fem sekler* (Halmstad 1983), 56.

Conclusion

Transnationalism and a Model for Scandinavian Pre-Reformation Book History

In one sense, the scale and character of Scandinavian book culture in the period between 1455 and 1525 hold no surprises. In comparison with contemporary trade elsewhere in Europe, the volume of the Scandinavian book trade was not large. The authors and works that could be found in Scandinavia could also be found elsewhere in late medieval and early modern Europe, along with a similarly limited readership. Whether defined by their religious, academic or ecclesiastical character, our findings follow established patterns. And if we have the traditional picture of cultural development in late medieval and early modern Scandinavia in mind, the scale of Scandinavian pre-Reformation book culture and the prosaic air that characterizes its book trade are unexpected. Scandinavia was part of medieval western Christianity, and the book trade in Scandinavia had much in common with such trade elsewhere in Europe, from its infrastructure to the influence of certain types of institution.

We must be wary of dismissing limitations in scale or variety as simply a result of Scandinavia's geographically peripheral location. The realities are more complex than such an interpretation allows. Scandinavian printing was commissioned and executed as a result of intellectual and economic interactions with printing, publishing and book trading elsewhere in Europe. Little printing was carried out in Scandinavia itself during the period covered by this study, but the example of Hans Urne suggests that the number of printed works produced before 1525 may be larger than previously documented. Language and intended audience were defining characteristics of printing in all contexts, and works printed in Denmark, for example, were usually either in Danish or had not yet appeared outside Denmark. The small number of printers who moved to Scandinavia, often staying only a short time, the small size of the towns, the very nature of everyday life and political realities may have meant that unlike elsewhere in Europe, printed broadsheets were not a vital form of public communication.

The well-developed continental European book trade provided Scandinavia with high-quality books at competitive prices, making the acquisition of books printed outside Scandinavia a rational choice. That decision could be informed by knowledge of the printed products available in domestic and foreign

markets.¹ Although institutions might hold multiple copies of a single edition or several editions of a single work, Scandinavian book markets characteristically offered a broad variety of titles in small numbers of units, as analysis of Danish monastery libraries convincingly demonstrates.

Examples from Sweden and Finland indicate that if the time taken to ship books is calculated in seasons, then the route from Lübeck across the Baltic Sea to Stockholm was just as time consuming as the route from Lübeck to Turku/Åbo. We need to change our perception of the concept of the periphery so that it takes into account the complex web created by issues of distance, accessibility, population figures, and intellectual exchange. The circumstances of the Malmö List show the importance of personal acquaintanceships and professional considerations alike for the establishment, maintenance and development of an early modern professional book trade, regardless of distance.

Only at the end of the period addressed by this study did a mass market for printed material take shape. With some delay, Scandinavia followed earlier developments in continental Europe as the products of the printing presses ceased to be the concern only of a scholarly elite studying canonical literature. Printed material now had popular appeal and developed alongside new communication and reading practices that included the appearance of the modern author.² Contemporary comments on the Lutheran literature flooding into Sweden in the early 1520s reveal the existence of an informal, non-professional trade in books, and in particular in pamphlets, a trade that is hard to grasp or quantify today. The distribution in Denmark of political pamphlets printed on behalf of the Danish kings in the early 1520s – material of this kind was previously thought to have circulated only outside Denmark – seems part of this phenomenon.

The book collections belonging to monasteries and churches, universities and individual readers all reveal the presence of not only large numbers of books but also a wide array of authors and works that are in keeping with the reading habits and literary canon found elsewhere in Europe. Provenances show the European character of book acquisition and ownership in

1 Certain titles and/or authors – Boccaccio and his *De mulieribus*, for example – still did not find their way into Scandinavia; Rhiannon Daniels, *Boccaccio and the Book: Production and Reading in Italy 1340–1520* (London 2009), 154ff.

2 Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*, a study of popular printing in Denmark from the year 1500, represents a masterly investigation into these and similar questions. In many ways early modern British book history parallels that of Scandinavia; see Kevin Pask, *The Emergence of the English Author: Scripting the Life of the Poet in Early Modern England* (Oxford 1996), 9f.

Scandinavia.³ The large number of people involved in these processes suggests that books were not by any means a rare commodity.

The last chapter of this book seeks to draw this study beyond the traditional realms of book history. Drawing on other academic fields, such as those of art and language, we have been able to identify lost printed material, traced through church art, history writing, translations and adaptations of prayers, romances and other categories of texts. Most printed material thus identified survived in neither physical form nor descriptive listings. This process brings to the fore the dynamics of religious movements as producers, distributors and consumers of printed material in Scandinavia, a role that awaits its due attention from book historians.

English and Scandinavian pre-Reformation book cultures share the characteristics of a slowly developing domestic print culture, as is evident in particular when set against the dynamics of contemporary continental European book centres.⁴ Future comparative studies of England, on one hand, and Denmark and/or Sweden, on the other, might prove very fruitful for our understanding of the dependences and individuality of northern European book cultures in the early modern period. Both regions were geographically peripheral but often proved to be vital players in the ecclesiastical, academic and intellectual life of Europe. Again pre-Reformation Scandinavia cannot be

3 The identification of books and provenances from the early sixteenth century remains a desideratum. Incunabula are overrepresented because of a tradition of elaborate incunabula catalogues. A catalogue of pre-1525 printed books in Scandinavian collections would be of great help to future research.

4 Elizabeth Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465–1526', *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), 268–290. Edward Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books: A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed in England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad* (Oxford 1917). Lotte Hellinga, 'Importation of Books Printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c. 1520', in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca, NY 1991), 205–224. Lotte Hellinga, 'Das Buch des 15. Jahrhunderts im Übergang von der Handschrift zum Buchdruck', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1998), 48–55. Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Vol. 3: 1400–1557, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge 1999), 179–201. John D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation* (Leiden and Boston 2007). Christine Ferdinand, 'Magdalen College and the Book Trade: The Provision of Books in Oxford, 1450–1550', in *The Book Trade and its Customers, 1450–1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (Winchester 1997), 175–187. Kristian Jensen, 'Printing the Bible in the Fifteenth Century: Devotion, Philology and Commerce', in *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Kristian Jensen (London 2003), 115–138, 236–255. Flood, 'Volentes'.

understood in terms of periphery alone, for it was fully integrated into European networks of the church, universities and book trade.⁵

The overall aim of this study has been to present something of the wealth of evidence that comes into focus when an approach to book history is adopted that is non-traditional and interdisciplinary. The very weight of the evidence forces us to move beyond standard models of the interaction of actors within the communication circuit to consider parties within broader intellectual, social and economic networks. An illuminating picture of the dynamics of this system is evident when this interplay is portrayed schematically.⁶ Robert Darnton's model of 'the communication circuit', first presented in 1982, is a classic now in book history.⁷ Although the historical processes he distilled into this well-known model were highly dynamic, the model provides a somewhat static account of a unidirectional circuit of actions, as it identifies markers that lead from the conception of a single edition of a book to that work's realisation as physical object. Its most dynamic elements are inside the circuit, found in the relations between author and publisher, binder and reader, and between the circuit and what Darnton defined as external fields of conjuncture that exert varying influences.

In the 2007 revision of his original article, Darnton discusses in detail another model, that proposed by Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker in 1993.⁸ This younger model focuses on the socio-economic conjunctures surrounding the production of a book. The process it displays is that of the manufacture and survival of a bibliographical unit: the book-in-making in the context of modern book production. Although intended as distinct and certainly different in many respects, the two models share a number of aspects. Both have been created on the basis of comparatively late periods of modern book history. Darnton's point of origin is formed by documents from the mid-eighteenth century found in the archive of the Société typographique de Neuchâtel.⁹ Adams and Barker designed their model to fit the conditions

5 Almost as much to be desired is an investigation of the period around 1480, when there was a massive import of Dutch books to Scandinavia. Dutch archives may contain revealing evidence for what appears to be an expansive era of Dutch printing and its impact on Scandinavia and northern Europe in general.

6 In so doing, I follow the advice given by Darnton in 2007, 'It is helpful for researchers to produce schematic pictures of their subject' (Robert Darnton: "What is the History of Books?" revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4:3 [2007], 495–508, here 502).

7 Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', 503.

8 Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book', in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, ed. Nicholas Barker (London 1993), 5–43.

9 Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', 504, declares his results to be applicable to the handpress period, which he terms the 'period of technological stability that stretched from 1500 to 1800'.

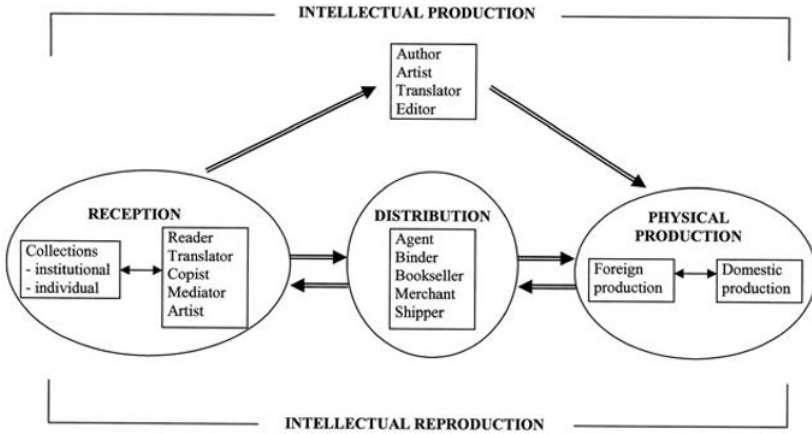


FIGURE 3 *A model of transnational pre-Reformation print culture.*

of mechanized and industrialized book production in existence since the nineteenth century. Both monodirectional systems work best when the book is understood as a physical, bibliographical or author-generated object and both are set implicitly within a distinctive national context.

A rather different model is more suitable for the transnational character of pre-Reformation Scandinavian book culture and the dynamics of less productive, peripheral book markets that are characterized by reception rather than production (see Figure 3).

This model is formed by three major stages of action plus one. Within each stage, it focuses heavily on individual actors, which accords with Darnton's communication circle. My model acknowledges the basic characteristics of early modern Scandinavian book culture primarily by including dynamic links and feedback mechanisms. Intellectual action, so decisive for the models proposed by Darnton and by Adams and Barker, here is split in two: intellectual production and intellectual reproduction. The lower part of the scheme in Figure 3, which displays the dynamic interplay between physical production, distribution and reception, represents this intellectual reproduction. Previous schemes forced the book historian into an intellectual one-way tour through the full production/publication cycle. In late medieval Christian culture, however, which depended so heavily upon the reproduction and reception of literary canons, the author was often far from the production of his work, sometimes geographically but principally chronologically. The reception of his person and work could be executed by means of transcriptions, translations and 'original' editions, as well as by reprinting and pirating. While intellectual production was not unknown – indeed, it was a growing concern, with the number of

contemporary authors growing in both Denmark and Sweden – intellectual reproduction still was the major business and encompassed the printing of (anonymously composed) liturgical books, the works of the church fathers and medieval theologians and standard schoolbooks, as well as pirated editions that met market demand.

Demand was a dynamic intellectual mechanism that fed back within the system. Demand also adjusts the focus from the creation/production of the 'original work' by author and editor to decisions made by representatives of the book trade, editors, publisher-patrons and printers that resulted in the physical production and/or distribution of copies of already existing works. Another dynamic feedback mechanism built into this model is the ordering of copies from a printer/publisher as the result of advertisement by a local or itinerant book seller. The contents of Scandinavian late medieval and early modern book collections make evident that much of the book trade did not involve an author at all. A more recursive feedback model with focus on the reproduction of literary works fits better with the findings presented in this book.

The scheme does not turn a full circle before the emergence of intellectual production, involving all kinds of original creators of texts and graphics. Unlike other schemes, the traditional starting point of the book production cycle comprises not only the author but also the artist, translator and editor. Translators and editors did not produce original material in a modern sense, but their part in pre-Reformation print production was vital. Their work on canonical or anonymous texts resulted in bestsellers such as Nicolaus de Lyra's commentary on the Bible or collections of texts on canonical law under the names of Gratian and Justinian. In Scandinavia, editions of a variety of texts, ranging from the printing of manuscripts (Saxo Grammaticus and *Dat gotlandske Waterrecht*) and reproductions of educational and liturgical literature that had previously been printed on the continent (the production of Simon Brandt in Odense 1502–1503) to translations of Latin originals (the Swedish translation of works by Jean Gerson) and a few original works in the vernacular in Denmark and Sweden, were part of this intellectual production cycle. This dynamic model recognises that the initiative for the commissioning or production of an edition lay far less often with an author than with a patron/publisher/printer. In-depth knowledge of the international book market was frequently a vital factor in a domestic publisher-patron's selection of a printer for a specific work. Issues of volume, quality and price, rather than geography alone, meant continental European book production and producers were defining factors in the establishment and development of domestic Scandinavian book production. Other communication models lack both the

transnational and international dynamics that can be observed so readily in Scandinavian pre-Reformation book history.

Besides its physical aspects, book culture has both strong and extensive social dimensions. The social complexities of the reception of printed material are implicitly part of what Adams and Barker term the 'survival' of books, but these social complexities are also integral to the movements of printed works within social classes. The more physical side of reception is the acquisition, storage and survival of books in institutional and individual collections, and its intellectual dimension is revealed in the evidence of reading, translating, and copying of or reporting on printed works, texts as well as pictures. Printed images have been left out of both collections, medieval and modern, and book historical studies. The copyist of a text or picture was not necessarily its primary reader or owner. These printed works, or at least their message, emanated from their owners and turned back to them again. For an accurate picture of the social complexity of print culture, it is necessary to analyse these printed objects both in detail and to consider their role in a broad perspective.

The model in Figure 3 reduces a complex study full of detail to its essence. It is also intended to provide book historians with a tool that will enable them to recognise the dynamics that helped Scandinavian recipients of prints overcome traditional limitations with regard to time and space. A historian who is attentive to action and reaction within a system will be more open to identifying relevant evidence in books and archives. This study is distinguished from previous studies of Scandinavian print history by its implementation of three specific theoretical concepts: (1) cultural transfer, (2) transnationalism, and (3) centre-periphery. The first of these concepts, cultural transfer, was initially developed to describe and analyse as well as boost future studies of shared French-German cultural relations.¹⁰ In recent years, earlier periods of

10 Matthias Middell, 'Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch: Das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten', in *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert: Prag – Krakau – Danzig – Wien*, ed. Andrea Langer and Georg Michels (Stuttgart 2001), 15–51, here 16ff. Dominik Wassenhoven, *Skandinavien unterwegs in Europa (1000–1250): Untersuchungen zu Mobilität und Kulturtransfer auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Berlin 2006), 31–32, discusses Paulmann's claim that cultural transfer should include the transfer of goods and technology, decisively favouring a broader understanding of the concept of cultural transfer. (However, he misidentifies the correct source for Paulmann's claim, see Johannes Paulmann, 'Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Grossbritannien. Einführung in ein Forschungskonzept', *Aneignung und Abwehr – Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rudolf Muhs, Johannes Paulmann and Willibald

European cultural history have been successfully investigated by means of this paradigm.¹¹ At the heart of this study is the (re-)discovery and (re-)evaluation of physical aspects of the production, economics, trade and reception of printed material, with a perspective that is much wider than any previously applied to this period and subject. The transfer of people and material objects and the interaction of actors have received particular attention in this work.¹² In structural terms, the concept of cultural transfer apparently runs parallel to and complements, indeed is in part synonymous with, the concept of transnationalism.¹³ Both concepts approach their subject with a breadth that encompasses relationships that go beyond the regional or national limitations and obsessions of bibliographical studies. The roles of and relations between exporter and importer, sender and recipient, and producer and receiver are acknowledged. Openness to the cultural capital at each end of the process allows us to recognise factors such as the role of Scandinavian religious orders as publishers and distributors of printed books. The concepts of cultural transfer and transnationalism support and promote the Europeanization of early modern book history studies.¹⁴

This study is especially concerned with the influence of information on the development of regional book cultures in a transnational context. Scandinavian protagonists often had detailed knowledge of non-Scandinavian book markets, knowledge that exerted decisive influence on the development of domestic book markets. This newly recognised interplay of domestic and foreign

Steinmetz [Bodenheim 1998], 21–43, here 32.) For about a decade, this concept was applied to culture after 1730/1750 only; Middell, 'Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen', 49.

- 11 Karen Lambrecht, 'Kulturtransfer und Kommunikation: Die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Prag und Krakau im Vergleich', in *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Langer and Michels, 85–99. The paradigm's applicability to book history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has not been fully demonstrated, for the growing number of studies of transnational book history are largely concerned with either the post-1750 period (e.g., Simon Frost and Robert W. Rix, eds., *Movable Type, Mobile Nations: Interactions in Transnational Book History*, Angles on the English-Speaking World 10 [Copenhagen 2010]) or provide panoramic views of, for example, the history of reading (Martyn Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* [Basingstoke 2009]).
- 12 Middell, 'Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen', 17–18. Lambrecht, 'Kulturtransfer und Kommunikation', 85f.
- 13 Sissel Bjerrum Fossat, Anne Magnussen, Klaus Petersen and Nils Arne Sørensen, eds., *Transnationale historier* (Odense 2009) is a broad general introduction to the evolution of this latter concept from a Scandinavian, and predominantly Danish, point of view.
- 14 Middell, 'Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen', 45. *Movable Type, Mobile Nations*.

book markets is a factor in the model presented above. This information and communication system was not the result of processes initiated and boosted by print technology but rather a precondition for its local or regional implementation and development.¹⁵ Printing did not create the information channels used by Scandinavian pre-Reformation publisher-patrons or the librarians of Danish and Swedish cathedral libraries; these channels, including Hanseatic trade routes and the information networks of the medieval church, promoted the spread of information no matter whether that spread concerned manuscripts or printed works. Transnational approaches, so vital to the nature of this study, have added weight to the critique of previous studies as deadlocked in the grids of national book history and the anachronistic projection of post-Reformation terminology and categories.

Descriptions of provincial printing in the pre-Reformation period have all too often failed to take on board the theoretical and practical implications of the concept of centre and periphery in a contemporary transnational perspective. While Lübeck has always rightly been recognized as the port from which printers, printed works and booksellers spread into the Scandinavian region, questions of centre and periphery have always been dealt with on a strictly national basis. Again, a transnational perspective helps to lift this question to a level that can embrace the feedback between Scandinavian and continental European pre-Reformation book culture and trade. In early modern book history, as also in other historical disciplines, provincial towns are almost always characterised as peripheral, with the provincial understood as in some way marginal or in opposition to the capital, or at best, as sited alongside the capital or centre. On a national level, provincial printing by definition comprises all printing executed during a particular period outside the political capital of a specific country.¹⁶ Although inevitably rather anecdotal, geographical and bibliographical information forms the foundations of our knowledge of provincial printing. As the capital of a country in the northern European periphery, Copenhagen tends to appear somewhat provincial itself within the wider geographical or geopolitical context. The establishment and development of printing in its first decades did not necessarily follow a model based on the capital/provincial division. The subsequent dominance of printing establishments in the capital over their competitors in the provinces was largely a result of political decisions made in the context of broad processes

15 Therefore, it runs contrary to the widely discussed theory presented by Michael Giesecke, *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit – Eine historische Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien* (Frankfurt am Main 1991).

16 Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk*.

such as nation building and confessionalization or was heavily influenced by the establishment of censorship and other forms of control. The factors that shaped printing were largely not elements of printing itself. The establishment and development of Scandinavian printing houses, their output, patrons, markets and, finally, failure or success can best be understood when they are viewed from a transnational perspective. Scandinavia as a whole must be regarded as 'a still remote outer periphery' of the European book system, with an inner periphery formed by Spain, Portugal, England and southern Italy, and the core by France, Germany and Italy.¹⁷ On a regional level, printing in Odense in Denmark in 1505, for example, can hardly be called provincial when there was no printing at that time in Copenhagen, nor would there be for another decade.¹⁸ If our definitions are determined by demand and supply, as Walter Christaller's central place theory requires, then both Copenhagen, the capital, and Odense, a provincial town, are equally subordinate to Lübeck, the nearest central place in the north European book-market system.¹⁹ And Lübeck in its turn is subordinate to the central places of the European-wide book trade, Paris, Nuremberg and Venice. All Scandinavian towns were then equally important for the development of printing or book markets.

The dynamics, statistics and volume of Scandinavian pre-Reformation book culture, which were woven into networks of international communications and trade, are adequately revealed only by means of a transnational perspective. This study was started more than ten years ago in order to establish whether the traditional image of Scandinavia as isolated and poorly developed in the decades before the Reformation holds true. It was the curse of this project, and its invigorating challenge, to realise that one way of reflecting on that question was through a wholesale re-examination of Scandinavian book history on the cusp between the Catholic late Middle Ages and the Protestant early modern period. The answer contained in this study shows both the richness and complexity of Scandinavian pre-Reformation book culture and also how naturally this culture fits into the larger picture of European book history.

17 Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008), 101–128, here 105–106.

18 Hellinga and Hellinga, 'Gotfred af Ghemens faerden'.

19 Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland* (Jena 1933). It is therefore ahistorical to regard Danish pre-Reformation printed works executed in towns outside Copenhagen as 'provincial' (Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk*).

The Malmö List

The following list describes and identifies the content of the Malmö List. I have followed the order of entries and wording given by Johannes Lindbaek and Ellen Jørgensen.¹ The numbers indicate container (Roman figure) and entry (Arabic figure). Each citation from the list is followed by a possible identification, with the edition (or editions) selected because of its proximity to the information given in the list itself. To make these identifications I turned first to the Heritage of the Printed Book database (HPB) and supplemented its results with other catalogues such as VD16, GW, ISTC and the Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog.

- [I] Registra super libris, qui sunt Malmogie. Isti libri subsequentes sunt in cista.
- (1) *Item 20 [30] breviaria ad usum Lundensem ligata*. [Later addendum:] *Item recepit de istis 30 1 dominus Cristiernus Malmogie commorans – Breviarium Lundense*, Paris: Jean Philippe, 1517. See nos. 111, 204, 207, 251, 259, 281.
 - (2) *Item 1 glossa ordinaria in sex voluminibus ligata* – Nicolai de Lyra *Repertorium alphabeticum sententiarum cum glossa ordinaria* or the *Infortiatum* of Iustinianus.
 - (3) *Item 3 biblia magna ligata* – *Biblia Magna*, Lyons: Moylin for Gueynard 1520.
 - (4) *Item 1 vita Christi ligata*.
 - (5) *Item 1 opus historiarum Antonini in tribus voluminibus ligatum* – Antoninus Florentinuss *Opus excellentissimum historiarum seu Chronicarum*, Lyons 1512.
 - (6) *Item 1 opus historiarum Marci Antonii Sabellici in duobus voluminibus ligatum* – Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus *Rhapsodiae historiarum Enneadum*, Paris: Badin and Jean Petit, 1513.
 - (7) *Item 1 supplementum cronicorum ligatum* – Giacomo Filippo Foresti *Supplementum supplementi chronicarum*, Venice.
 - (8) *Item 1 Ropertus Holkot super librum sapientie ligatus* – Robertus Holkot *Super sapientiam Salomonis*, Venice or Paris.
 - (9) *Item 2 sermones Roperti de Licio ligati* – Roberto Caraccioli de Licio *Sermones quadragesimales de Adventu* or *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum*.
 - (10) *Item 3 Saxones Grammatici ligati* – Saxo Grammaticus *Danorum regum heroumque historie*, Paris: Badin, 1514.

¹ Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser fra det 16. Aarhundredes Begyndelse'.

- (11) *Item 1 Joannes Scotus super primum librum sententiarum ligatus* – Johannes Duns Scotus *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum...super Primum Sententiarum*.
- (12) *Item 1 Franciscus Irenicus de gestis Germanie ligatus* – Franciscus Irenicus *Germaniae exegeseos volumina duodecim*.
- (13) *Item 4 registrum in sermones Jacobi de Voragine ligatum*.
- (14) *Item 1 rosarium sermonum ligatum* – Bernardinus de Bustis *Rosarium sermonum predicabilium*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran for Johannes Rynman, 1518.
- (15) *Item 1 sermones magistri Cornelii de Sneki ligati in asseribus papiraceis* – Cornelius de Sneki *Sermones Magistri Cornelii de Sneki*, Rostock: Nicolaus Marschalk (Thurius) in Rostock, 1517. See also entries nos. 132, 218, 246.
- (16) *Item 1 historie Justini ligate in asseribus papiraceis* – Marcus Junianus Justinus *Iustini...Trogii Pompeii Historias*. See also no. 142.
- (17) *Item 2 sermones dominicales dormi secure ligati* – Jacobus de Voragine *Sermones dormi secure dominicales* or Johannes de Werdena *Sermones dominicales dormi secure*.
- (18) *Item 1 Leonardus Aretinus de bello Gottorum ligatus in asseribus papiraceis* – Leonardo Bruni *Leonardi Aretini De bello Gotthorum*.
- (19) *Item 2 missalia ligata secundum morem Romane curie* – *Missale Romanum*.
- (20) *Item 1 quadragesimale magistri Leonardi de Vtino ligatum* – Leonardo da Udine *Sermones quadragesimales*, Lyons 1518.
- (21) *Item 1 sermones Vincentii de sanctis ligati* – Vincentius Ferrerius *Sermones*.
- (22) *Item 1 opusculum de passione domini* – Hieronymus de Vallibus *Elegantissimum de passione domini opusculum*, Cologne: Cornelius de Zierickzee, about 1499. Bound together with the following entry:
- (23) *cum Leonardo de bello Gottorum ligatum* – Leonardo Brunis *Leonardi Aretini De bello Gotthorum*. See entry no. 18.
- (24) *Item 3 libri de proprietatibus rerum Bartholomei Anglici ordinis Minorum ligatus* – Bartholomaeus Anglicus *Liber de proprietatibus rerum*.
- (25) *Item [1?] ortus sanitatis ligatus de herbis et plantis, de animalibus et reptilibus, de avibus et piscibus, de lapidibus et in terre venis nascentibus, de urinis et earum speciebus, tabula medicinalis cum directorio generali per omnes tractatus* – Strasbourg: Reinhard Beck, 1517.
- (26) *Item 1 sermones Vincentii ligati de tempore pars estivalis* – Vincentius Ferrerius *Sermones*. See no. 21.
- (27) *Item 1 itinerarium paradisi ligatum* – Jean Raulin *Itinerarium Paradisi*.
- (28) *Item 1 sermones de septem viciis Pauli Van ligati* – Paul Wann *Sermones de septem viciis criminalibus*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran for Johannes Rynman, 1517.

- (29) *Item 1 margarita philosophica ligata* – Gregor Reisch *Margarita philosophica*.
- (30) *Item 1 vitas patrum bonden* – Saint Jerome *In vitas patrum*.
- (31) *Item 2 legenda aurea bonden* – Jacobus de Voragine *Legenda aurea*.
- (32) *Item 1 sermones Petri Hieremiae bonden* – Petrus de Hieremia *Sermones*.
- (33) *Item 2 destructorium viciorum bonden* – Alexander Carpentarius *Destructorium vitiorum*.
- (34) *Item 1 epistole Pauli cum commentariis Jacobi Fabri ligate* – Jacobus Fabri Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre DEtaples) commented edition of Saint Pauls *Epistolae*.
- (35) *Item 1 antiquarum variarum volumina 17 ligata* – A collection of 17 older books or leaflets from Pedersens antiquarian stock.
- (36) *Item 1 cornu abbatis bonden* – Bonifacius Simonetta *Cornu Abbatis*, Basel: Nicolaus Kessler, 1509.
- (37) *Item 1 speculum exemplorum bonden* – Aegidius Aurifaber *Speculum exemplorum*.
- (38) *Item 1 preceptorium Gotscalci bonden* – Godescalcus (Gotschalcus) Hollen *Preceptorium*.
- (39) *Item 1 sermones de adventu Joannis Raulini ligati* – Joannes Raulin *Opus sermonum de adventu*.
- (40) *Item 1 sermones Henrici Herp ligati* – Henricus Herp *Sermones*.
- (41) *Item 1 sermones de tempore Leonardi de Vtino ligati* – Leonardus de Utino *Sermones floridi de tempore*.
- (42) *Item 1 cronica Britannorum ligata* – John Major *Historia Majoris Britanniae*, Paris 1520 or Geoffrey of Monmouth *Britanniae...origo*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1517.
- (43) *Item 1 cronica Sigeberti ligata* – Sigebertus Gemblacensis *Chronicon*.
- (44) *Item 1 sermones Bertrandi de tempore et de sanctis pars hyemalis bonden* – Bertrandus de Turre *Sermones*.
- (45) *Item 1 Petrus Crinitus ligatus* Crinito *De honesta disciplina...De poetis...Et poematum*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1520.
- (46) *Item 1 Joannis maioris in quartum sententiarum* – Johannes Maior *In quartum sententiarum quaestiones*, Paris 1519. See no. 282.
- (47) *Item 1 secunda pars rosarii Bernardini de Bustis ligata* – Bernardinus de Bustis *Rosarium sermonum predicabilium*, printed 1518 in Hagenau by Henricus Gran for Johannes Rynman. See no. 14.
- (48) *Item 1 navis stultorum* – Sebastian Brant *Navis stultifera*.
- (49) *Item 1 speculum spiritualium ligatum* – William Brettons edition of the *Speculum spiritualium*, Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1510.
- (50) *Item 1 opus regale bonden* – Johannes Vivaldus (Giovanni Vivaldi) *Opus regale*.

- (51) *Item 1 gemma predicantium bonden* – Nicolas Denisse *Gemma predicantium*.
- (52) *Item 1 sermones Joannis Geylei bonden* – Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg *Sermones*.
- (53) *Item 1 Baptiste Fulgosi de dictis factisque memorabilibus bonden* – Battista Fregoso *Baptiste Fulgosi De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea*, Paris: for Galliot du Pre, 1518.
- (54) *Item 1 Josephus de bello Judaico ligatus* – Josephus Flavius *De bello Judaico*.
- (55) *Item 1 gesta Francorum et Lombardorum* – Enguerrand de Monstrelet *Croniques de France...et...nouuelles choses aduenues en Lombardie*, Paris: Jean Petit, 1512, or Aemilius Paulus *De rebus gestis Francorum*, Paris: Jean Badin, about 1518? Although then the appendix to the title *et Lombardorum* remains a puzzle. Maybe this is in fact a made-up volume, combining one of the aforementioned history of the Britains with a still unknown text dealing with a chapter of the early medieval Italian history.
- (56) *Item 1 sermones Bertrandi de tempore pars estivalis bonden* – The other part of no. 44?
- (57) *Item 2 Vincentii ligati pars estivalis* – Vincentius de Ferrerius *Sermones de tempore*.
- (58) *Item 1 sermones quadragesimales epistolares* – Bertandus de Turre *Sermones quadragesimales epistolares* or Jean Raulin *Opus sermonum quadragesimalium super epistolas*. Bound together with the following entry:
- (59) *cum sermonibus de sancti Bertrandi bonden*. See nos. 44, 56.
- (60) *Item 1 mare historiarum in lingua gallicana bonden* – *La mer des histoires et chroniques de France*, Paris 1517–1518.
- (61) *Item 2 summa angelica bonden* – Angelus Carletus (de Clavasio) *Summa angelica de Casibus conscientiae*.
- (62) *Item 1 Aluarus Pelagius de planctu ecclesie bonden* – Alvarus Pelagius *De planctu ecclesiae*.
- (63) *Item 1 preceptorium Nider bonden* – Johannes Nider *Praeceptorium decalogi*.
- (64) *Item 1 sermones aurei de sanctis fratris Leonardi de Vtino bonden* – Leonardus de Utino *Sermones aurei de sanctis*.
- (65) *Item 1 psalterium Fabri ligatum* – Jacques Le Fèvre (Jacobus Fabri) *Psalterium quincuplex*, Paris: Henri Estienne, 1513.
- (66) *Item 1 Annonius de origine regum Francorum bonden* – Annonius (Aimonus) Floriacensis *De regum procerumque Francorum origine*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1514.

- (67) *Item 4 opera allegoriarum moraliumque sententiarum in utrumque testamentum excepto dumtaxat psalterio bonden – Allegoriarum et moralium sententiarum in utrumque divinae legis instrumentum...collectanea*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1520. See nos. 133, 253.
 - (68) *Item 1 spalterium [sic!] Davidis cum magna littera bonden – Psalterium Davidicum or Psalterium Davidis*.
 - (69) *Item 6 (7) serpens antiquus de septem punctis criminalibus – Serpens antiquus de septem peccatis criminalibus*, Paris 1518 or 1519.
 - (70) *Item 7 (8) scholastica declaratio de unica Magdalena – Noël Beda Scholastica declaratio sententiae et ritus de unica Magdalena*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1519.
 - (71) *Item 2 (3) flores sermonum ac evangeliorum dominicalium magistri Odonis cancellarii Parrhiensis – Odo of Cheriton Flores sermonum ac Evangeliorum Dominicalium*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1520.
 - (72) *Item 1 sermones Armandi de bello visu – Armandus de Bellovisu Sermones*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1519.
 - (73) *Item 8 [originally: 9] enchiridion sacerdotale Joannis Mare episcopi Concoriensis [sic!] – Jean Marre Enchiridion sacerdotale*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1519.
 - (74) *Item 1 sermones dominicales Nicolai ab Aqueuilla – Nicolaus de Aquaevilla, Sermones dominicales*.
 - (75) *Item 1 Franciscus Maronis super decem percepta [sic!] – Franciscus de Mayronis Decalogi seu decem preceptorum domini*, Paris: Bernard Aubri, 1519.
- [II] [...] In tunna isto signo notata continentur subsequentes libri.
- (76) *Item Donatus et Remigius*.
 - (77) *Item 3 Armandus de bello visu ubonden – Armandus de Bellovisu Sermones*, Paris: Claude Cheuallon and Jean Badin, 1519.
 - (78) *Item 12 diurnalialia ad usum Lundensem ubonden – A hitherto unknown Diurnale Lundense*. See nos. 120, 122.
 - (79) *Item 1 missale Lundense in pergamenio ligatum – Missale Lundense*, Paris: Hopyl, 1514. See nos. 80, 166.
 - (80) *Item 1 missale Lundense ubonden – Missale Lundense*, Paris: Hopyl, 1514. See nos. 79, 166.
 - (81) *Item 1 epistolare familiares Joannis Antonii ubonden – Joannes Antonius Campanus Epistolae familiars*, Cologne: Cornelius von Zierickzee, 1516.
 - (82) *Item 1 de valore missarum ubonden – Werner Rolewinck De venerabili sacramento et valore missarum*.
 - (83) *Item 3 stella clericorum ubonden – Stella clericorum*.
 - (84) *Item 1 tractatus de deliciis sensibilibus paradisi ubonden – Bartholomaeus Rimbertainus De deliciis sensibilibus Paradisi*, Venice 1498 or *Insignis atque preclarus de deliciis sensibilibus paradisi liber*, Paris 1514.

- (85) *Item 1 psalterium parvum ubonden – Psalterium in modum septem horarum abbreviatum*, Paris: Dupré for Pompeius Occo, Amsterdam, 1519? See no. 191.
- (86) *Item Jesus Maria in ligno* [i.e. in wooden covers] – *Das Leben unsers Erledigers Jesu Christi (...), auch mit Beylauffung des lebens der Junckfrawen Marie*, Nuremberg: Johannes Stüchs, 1514.
- (87) *Item 1 summa de laudibus Christifere virginis Marie – Albertus Magnus Summa de laudibus christifere virginis Mariae*.
- (88) *Item 1 hortulus rosarum ubonden – Hortulus rosarum*, Paris?
- (89) *Item 1 Plutachus* [sic!] *de tuenda bona valitudine ubonden – Plutarchus De tuenda bona valetudine precepta*.
- (90) *Item 1 Ausonius ubonden – Decimus Magnus Ausonius Griphi Ausoniani*, Paris: Jean Badin 1516.
- (91) *Item 1 carmen de oppugnatione Genuensi ubonden – Valerandus Varanius Carmen de expugnatione genuensi*, France 1507/8.
- (92) *Item 1 opus Nicolai de Clamengiis* [sic!] *de lapsu et reparatione justitie – Nicolaus de Clemangiis De lapsu & reparatione iusticiae libellus*.
- (93) *Item 1 ars epistolica Joannis Despauterii* [later crossed out] – Jean Despautère *Ars epistolica*, Paris 1519. Bound together with the following entry:
- (94) *cum symbolo apostolorum ubonden*.
- (95) *Item 1 opera Salomonis ubonden*.
- (96) *Item 2 decalogus Francisci Maronis – Franciscus de Mayronis Decalogi*, Paris 1519/1520.
- (97) *Item 1 Nicolaus Chappusius de mente et memoria ubonden – Nicolaus Chappusius De mente et memoria*.
- (98) *Item 1 medulla aurea ubonden – Alexander de Villa Deis Medulla aurea*, Cologne 1501–1505.
- (99) *Item 1 Lucius Florus in historiis ubonden – Lucius Annaeus Florus*.
- (100) *Item 1 parrochiale curatorum – Michael Lochmaier Parrochiale curatorum*.
- (101) *Item 1 vita dive Katharine filie beatissime Birgitte de regno Suecie ubonden – Divae Catharine virginis...vita descriptio*, Nuremberg: Peter Chalybs, 1515.
- (102) *Item 1 epistola astrologie defensiva ubonden – Jean Ganivet Epistola astrologiae defensiva*, Lyons: Johannes Cleyne 1508.
- (103) *Item 2 libri Hieronymi de Ferrara de simplicitate christianae vite ubonden – Hieronymus de Farrara (Girolamo Savonarola) Libri...de simplicitate vite christiane*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1511.
- (104) *Item dat boecken van der missen ende anderverff corrigeeret – Dat boexken vander missen Anderwerf ghecorrigeert*, Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman, about 1509.

- (105) *Item 1 expositio beati Augustini de verbo domini in monte bonden i perment* – Aurelius Augustinus *Expositio beate augustini de sermone domini in monte*, Paris 1494.
- (106) *Item 1 Nicolaus Clemangis archidiaconus Baiocensis de corrupto ecclesie statu* – Nicolaus de Clemangiis *De corrupto ecclesiae statu*, Schlettstadt about 1519/20, only.
- (107) *Item 2 epistole sanctissimorum virorum bonden i perment* – *Epistole Sanctissimorum sequenti codice contentae*, Paris: Badin and Petit, 1516. See no. 237.
- (108) *Item 6 hore in Danica lingua ubonden* – Christiern Pedersen *Vor Frue Tider*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1514.
- (109) *Item 1 tractatus de imitatione Christi ubonden* – Thomas a Kempis *De imitatione Christi*.
- (110) *Item 1 Stephanus Fliscus ubonden* – Stephanus Fliscus *Sententiarum variationes*, Paris: Jean Petit, about 1506.
- [III] Item in tunna isto signo [...] signata continentus subsequentes libri.
- (111) *Item 29 breviaria Lundensis diocesis bonden*. See nos. 1, 204, 207, 251, 259, 281.
- (112) *Item 7 sermones dominicales* [sic!] *Nicolai ab Aqueuilla ubonden* – Nicolaus ab Aquaevillas *Sermones dominicales*, Paris 1519?
- (113) *Item 10 doctrinale sancte ac provide vite ubonden* – Petrus Richardus *Doctrinale sanctae ac providae vitae*, Paris 1519?
- (114) *Item 4 Armandus de bello visu ubonden* – Armandus de Bellovisu *Sermones*, Paris: Jean Badin 1519.
- (115) *Item 1 serpens antiquus ubonden* – Guillaume Huet (Gulielmus Huetus) *Serpens antiquus de septem peccatis criminalibus*.
- (116) *Item 3 flores sermonum ac evangeliariorum* [sic] *magistri Odonis cancellarii Parrhisiensis ubonden* – Odo of Cheriton *Flores sermonum ac Evangeliorum Dominicalium*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1520.
- (117) *Item 1 Couasrubias pars hyemalis in filo* – Pedro Covarrubias *Pars hyemalis...sermonum dominicalium*, Paris: Jean Badin 1520. See no. 265.
- (118) *Item 2 scholastica declaratio de unica Magdalena ubonden* – Natalis Beda *Scholastica declaratio sententiae et ritus ecclesiae De unica Magdalena*, Paris: Jean Badin 1519.
- (119) *Item 2 enchiridion sacerdotale concionatum ab Joanne Mare ubonden* – Jean Marre *Enchiridion sacerdotale*.
- (120) *Item 26 diurnalial Lundensis diocesis bonden*. See nos. 78, 122.
- (121) *Item 100 oc 2* [i.e. 102] *psalteria bonden i perment* – Unknown psalter. See nos. 210, 232.

[IV] Item in tunna isto signo consignata continentur sequentes libri.

- (122) *Item 20* [originally: 30] *diurnalia Lundensis diocesis bonden. Dominus Christiernus Malmogie commorans* [residing at Malmö] *recepit de istis 10 diurnalia*. See nos. 78, 120.
- (123) *Item 44 Remigius ubonden* – An unknown edition of the *Remigius*.
- (124) *Item 2 speculum monastice discipline* – Charles Fernand or Hugo de Sancto Victore *Speculum disciplinae monasticae*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1515. See nos. 242, 260.
- (125) *Item 1 speculum discipline* – Bonaventuras *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios*, Paris: Barra, 1515, or another copy of no. 124.
- (126) *Item 1 missa de nomine Jesu in cruda materia* – An unidentified title, maybe part of a damaged liturgical book, as might be concluded from the rude character of the binding or wrapping.
- (127) *Item modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque jure* – Werner de Schussenrieds *Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque jure*, Paris: Jean Petit, 1517.
- (128) *Item 1 sermones mediocres beati Bonaventure de tempore bonden* – Bonaventura *Sermones mediocres de tempore*, Strasbourg: Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner), 1496.
- (129) *Item 3 dieta salutis in pergameno* – Bonaventura *Dieta salutis*, Paris 1516.
- (130) *Item 1 Petrus Crinitus bonden* – Pietro Crinito *Peri Criniti...De honesta disciplina lib. XXV*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1520.
- (131) *Item 1 thesaurus spiritualis cum psalterio bonden* – *Thesaurus spiritualis cum psalterio*, Lyons 1512.
- (132) *Item 2 sermones magistri Nicolai de Snekis*. See nos. 15, 218, 246.
- (133) *Item 5* [originally 6] *opera allegoriarum et moralium sententiarum in utrumque divine legis instrumentum bonden*. See nos. 67, 253.
- (134) *Item 2 auctoritates Aristotelis ubonden* – *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1520.
- (135) [Later crossed out] *Item 1 tractatulus de sensibilibus et* [sic] *deliciis paradisi ubonden*. See no. 84.
- (136) *Item 1 brocardica juris ubonden* – *Brocardica juris*, Paris.
- (137) *Item 1 Jacobus de paradiso, de animabus a corporibus exutis* – Jacobus de Clusa (alias de Jüterbog or de Paradiso) *De animabus exutis a corporibus*.
- (138) *Item 1 doctrinale* [crossed out later:] *clericorum* [crossed out later:] *ubonden cum martyrologio sanctorum per totum annum bonden* – Usuardus Sangermanensis *Doctrinale clericorum una cum sanctorum martyrologio per anni circulum*, Lübeck: Hans van Ghetelen, 1490.
- (139) *Item 1 de vita et beneficiis Jesu Christi bonden in papiraceis asseribus* – *Meditationes de vita et beneficiis Salvatoris Jesu Christi*.

- (140) *Item 5 [originally 2] tractatuli Heronymi de Ferrar[ia] de simplicitate christiane vite ubonde[n].* See no. 96.
- (141) *Item 1 scala celi bonden* – Johannes Gobius Junior *Scala coeli*.
- (142) *Item 1 Justinus in historiis bonden i parm[ent].* See no. 16.
- (143) *Item 1 malleus maleficarum bonden i parment oc en bonden in asseribus* [a total of 2] – Jacob Sprenger and Henricus Institoris *Malleus maleficarum*.
- (144) *Item 1 introductorium in utriusque juris libros bonden i parment* – *In utriusque iuris libris introductorium Modus legendi abbreviaturas*.
- (145) *Item 1 vita Christi secundum Bonamuenturam in papiraceis asseribus bonden* – Bonaventura *Vita Christi secundum Bonauenturam*, Paris: Demarnef, about 1503.
- (146) *Item 3 legenda maior beati Francisci ubonden* – Bonaventura *Legenda maior beatissimi patris Francisci*.
- (147) *Item 1 secu[n]da pars rosarii Bernardini de Bustis bonden i fiell* – The second part of Bernardinus de Bustis *Rosarium sermonum predicabilium*.
- (148) *Item 1 prima pars rosarii bonden i fiell* – The first part of no. 147.
- (149) *Item 1 opus quattuor novissimorum bonden* – Bonaventura *Sermones quattuor nivissimorum*, Cologne not after 1505, or Gerardus de Vliedervoven *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum*, Paris not later than about 1505.
- (150) *Item 1 decachordum cristianum* – Marcus Vigerius (Marco Vigerio) *Decachordum Christianum*, Paris: Jean Badin or Hagenau: Anshelm and Albert for Johannes Koberger, 1517.
- (151) *Item 1 Alcimi Auiti ubonden* – Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus *De origine mundi de originali peccato*.
- (152) *Item 1 Agatius de bello Gotthorum ubonden* – Agathias Scholasticus *De bello Gothorum et aliis peregrinis historiis libri V*.
- (153) *Item 1 opus aureum bonden* – *Opus aureum*.
- (154) *Item 1 p[r]agmatica sanctio bonden* – *Pragmatica sanctio*.
- (155) *Item 1 epistole familiares Joannis Antonii ubonden* – Johannes Antonius Campanus *Epistole familiares*, Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1516.
- (156) *Item 1 enchiridion bonden* – Jean Marre *Enchiridion sacerdotale*, Paris: Badin 1519 or 1520, or Epictetus *Enchiridion*, Strasbourg 1520.
- (157) *Item 1 de voluptate ac vero bono Laurentii Valle ubonden* – Laurentius Valla *De voluptate ac vero bono libri tres*.
- (158) *Item 2 triumphus crucis Hieronimi de Ferraria ubonden* – Hieronymus de Ferrara (Giovanni Savonarola) *Triumphus crucis de veritate fidei*.
- (159) *Item 1 dictionarius pauperum bonden* – Nicolaus de Byarto *Dictionarius pauperum*.

- (160) *Item Bartholomaeus de proprietatibus rerum bonden* – Bartholomaeus Anglicus *Liber de proprietatibus rerum*.
- (161) *Item 1 Ricardus de trinitate bonden* – Richardus de Sancto Victore *De trinitate*.
- (162) *Item 1 fundamentum aureum bonden* – Nicolaus de Gorra *Fundamentum aureum omnium anni sermonum*, Paris 1509.
- (163) [Later crossed out] *Item 1 gammel Saxo bonden* – Maybe a manuscript copy of Saxo Grammaticus chronicle.
- (164) *Item 1 biblia in magna forma bonden* – *Biblia Latina*, 15th century?
- [V] [...] Item in tunna isto signo notata continentur libri sequentes.
- (165) *Item 1 rationale divinatorum bonden* – Guilelmus Durantis *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*.
- (166) *Item 3 missalia ad usum Lundensis diocesis bonden*. See nos. 79, 80.
- (167) *Item 1 pupilla oculi in filo* – Johannes de Burgo *Pupilla oculi*. See no. 269.
- (168) *Item [1?] Calepinus bonden* – Ambrosius Calepinus *Dictionarium copiosissimus*.
- (169) *Item 9 diurnalia ad usum Rho[manum; added by the 1913 editors] bonden* – *Diurnale Romanum* or *Diurnale Roschildense*, Paris: Jean Barbier, 1511.
- (170) *Item 2 [diurnalia ad usum Rhoschildensum?] de minima forma bonden*. See no. 169.
- (171) *Item 5 hortulus anime in parva forma bonden* – *Hortulus anime*.
- (172) *Item 1 nater [sic!] de virtutibus herbarum bonden i perment* – Floridus Macer *De virtutibus herbarum*, Paris 1511?
- (173) *Item 2 ubonden*. See no. 165.
- (174) *Item Dion de regno bonden* – Chrysostomus Dio *De regno*, 15th century.
- (175) *Item 3 statuta sinodalia ubonden* – *Statuta synodalia Birgeri Lundensis*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1514, or *Statuta synodalia Roschildensis*, Copenhagen: Poul Ræff, about 1517. See no. 214.
- (176) *Item 1 postilla parva ubonden oc en bonden* [i.e. a total of 2] – Guilelmus Parisiensis *Postilla super epistolas et evangelia?*
- (177) *Item 1 ars epistolica Joannis Despauterii* – Johannes de Spauter *Ars epistolica*.
- (178) *Item 1 Cornelius Tacitus in filo* – Cornelius Tacitus.
- (179) [Later crossed out:] *Item una sarcinula diversorum librorum*. See no. 35.
- (180) *Item 1 breviarium Premonstratense bonden in duobus partibus* – *Breviarium Praemonstratense*.

- (181) *Item 1 eva[n]geliae bonden paa danske oc en ubonden* [i.e. a total of 2] – Christiern Pedersen *Epistler og Evangelier or Jærtegnspostil*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1515.
 - (182) *Item 6 vocabularia ad usum Dacorum in pergameno* – Christiern Pedersen *Vocabularium Latino-Danicum?*
 - (183) *Item 2 breviaria Roschildensia bonden oc en ubonden* – *Breviarium Roschildense*, Paris: Jean Philippe, 1517. See no. 258.
 - (184) *Item 1 sermones discipuli in filo* – Johannes Herolt, *Sermones discipuli*.
 - (185) *Item 1 epistole* [originally: sermones] *Augustini bonden* – Aurelius Augustinus *Liber Epistolarum*.
 - (186) *Item 1 viridarium illustrium poetarum* – *Viridarium illustrium Poetarum* Paris: Jean Petit, 1513 or Hagenau 1517.
 - (187) *Item 1 sermones Vincentii pars hyemalis et de sanctis bonden* – Ferrerius Vincentius *Sermones de tempore*. See nos. 188, 247.
 - (188) *Item 2* [originally 3] *partes hyemales et estivales bonden*. See nos. 187, 247.
 - (189) *Item 3 hore secundum usum Rhomanum bonden* [originally: *Item 3 hore Danica lingua in parva forma bonden*] – *Horae in laudem beatissimae Virginis secundum consuetudinem romanae Curiae* or Christiern Pedersen *Vor Frue tider*.
 - (190) *Item 1 Suetonius bonden* – Caius Suetonius Tranquillus *Liber illustrium virorum*.
 - (191) *Item 21 psalteria parva bonden in pergameno*. See no. 85.
- [VI] [...] ²
- (192) *Opuscula nova Mantuani bonden* – Baptista Mantuanus.
 - (193) *Item 1 historie Gregorii Thuronensis bonden* – Gregorius Turonensis *Historiarum praecipue gallicarum Lib. 10*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1512.
 - (194) *Item 1 sermones quadragesimales thesauri novi* – Petrus of Varambon (Palude) *Thesaurus novus sermonum quadragesimalium*.
 - (195) *Item 1 psalterium Cistercensis ordinis* – *Psalterium Cisterciense*, Speyer: Peter Drach, 1486. Bound together with the follwing entry:
 - (196) *et unum diurnale eiusdem ordinis bonden* – *Diurnale Cisterciense*, Speyer: Peter Drach, about 1487–1488.
 - (197) *Item 1 breviarium Romanum in filo oc en in cruda materia* [i.e. a total of 2] – *Breviarium Romanum*.

2 In a footnote Lindbaek and Jørgensen note that the graphic signature included here was added to the outer margins of the list, which suggests that the following entries represent the content of the next container, although without the usual heading; Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser fra det 16. Aarhundredes Begyndelse', 331.

- (198) *Item aliqui tractatus de regimine pestilentico ubonden – Regimen contra pestilentiam*, 1519?
- (199) *Item 1 hore in Danica lingua*. See no. 189. Bound together with the following entry:
- (200) *cum modo audiendi missam ubonden – Christiern Pedersen At høre Messe*, Paris: Badin, 1514 or Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1517.
- (201) *Item 2 hore in latino de maiori forma in filo oc en bonden* [i.e. a total of 3] – A Latin version of the Book of Hours.
- (202) *Item 3 missalia ad usum Ro[manum] ubonden – Missale Romanum or Missale Roschildense*. See no. 169.
- (203) *Item 3 hore de minima forma bonden* – A small-format, Latin version of the Book of Hours.

[VII] In tunna ista nota [...] obsignata continentur libri subsequentes – [Added in a different hand:] *Ista tunna est Lundis*.

- (204) *Item 94 breviaria ligata ad usum Lundensem*. See nos. 1, 111, 207, 251, 259, 281.
- (205) *Item 31 oraria in filo in Danica lingua – Gudelige Bønner*, Copenhagen: Gotfred of Ghemen, 1509. See nos. 208, 230, 248, 261, 268, 283.
- (206) *Item 25 abcdaria ligata in pergamenno* – An unidentified *Abecedarium*.

[VIII] In tunna ista nota [...] signata continentur subsequentes libri.

- (207) *Item 26 breviaria ad usum Lundensem ligata et unom [sic!] non ligatum*. See nos. 1, 111, 204, 251, 259, 281.
- (208) *Item 4 oraria Danica, tria in asseribus nudis et unum in filo tantum*. See nos. 205, 230, 248, 261, 268, 283.
- (209) *Item 800 (750) [both figures originate from the writer of the list] et 14 historie sancti Clementis – Historia divi Clementis or De sancto Clemente ad vespas antiphona*, Paris: Jean Philippe, 1517. See nos. 226, 228.
- (210) *Item 30 psalteria non ligata* – A Latin psalter. See nos. 121, 232.
- (211) *Item 300 et 36 alphabeta in pergamenno ligata* – Christiern Pedersen *Vocabularium Latino-Danicum*? See nos. 225, 257, 266.
- (212) *Item 2 partes hyemales Covasrubias – Pedro Covarrubias Pars hyemalis... sermonum dominicalium*.
- (213) *Item 9 Petri Legiste parabola – Peder Laale (Lolle or Petrus Legistae Laglandicus) Parabola*. See nos. 231, 279.
- (214) *Item 35 statuta synodalia ligata in pergamenno*. See no. 175.
- (215) *Item 1 gemma anime ligata in pergamenno* – Honorius Augustodunensis *Gemma anime*.
- (216) *Item 1 metamorphosis Ouidiaria in pergamenno ligata* – Publius Ovidius Naso *Metamorphosis*.

- (217) *Item 2 leges Jucie in pergameno ligate* – *Jutische Lov*, Lübeck: Matthaeus Brandis, 1486, or *Expositiones circa leges Jutiae*, Ribe: Matthaeus Brandis, 1504 or Copenhagen: Gotfred of Ghemen, 1508.
- (218) *Item 2 sermones magistri Cornelii de Snekiis*. See nos. 15, 132, 246.
- (219) *Item 1 regimen sanitatis in pergameno ligatum* – *Regimen sanitatis Salerni*.
- (220) *Item 1 Turchice spurticie in pergameno* – Jean Lemaire de Belges or Ricoldus de Montecrucis, *Turchicae spucitiae*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1514.
- (221) *Item 1 rhetorica Ciceronis ligata in asseribus* – Marcus Tullius Cicero *Rhetoricum...ad C. Herennium libri quattuor...cum familiari admodum Iodoco Badij Ascensij...explanatione*, Paris: Jean Petit, 1508 or 1520?

[IX] In tunna ista nota consignata continentus libri subsequentes.

- (222) *1 diurnale Rhomanum non ligatum, in quo reficit a primum* – A corrected version of the *Diurnale Romanum*.
- (223) *1 flores sermonum non ligatum* – This is Badins edition of Odo of Chertons *Flores sermonum ac Evangeliorum Dominicalium*, 1520.
- (224) *1 sermones dormi secure dominicales non ligati* – This is the *Sermones Dominicales Dormi secure de tempore et de sanctis* by Johannes de Werdena; surely another 1520 Paris edition.
- (225) *16 alphabeta ligata in pergameno*. See nos. 211, 257, 266.
- (226) *100 et 88* [originally followed by the words *historie sancti Clementis varia in latino in filo de minima forma*. See nos. 209, 228.
- (227) *8 Saxones non ligati* – Saxo Grammaticus *Danorum Regum heroumque historiae*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1514?
- (228) *100 et 63* [a total of 163] *historie Clementis*. See nos. 209, 226.
- (229) *1 sermones domini Heremie non ligati* – Petrus de Hieremia *Sermones de Penitentia*, Hagenau 1514 and about 1520.
- (230) *2 oraria Danica non ligata*. See nos. 205, 208, 248, 261, 268, 283.
- (231) *27 Petri Legiste parabola*. See nos. 213, 279.
- (232) *22 psalteria non ligata*. See nos. 121, 210.
- (233) *1 responsorium curiosorum* – Conradus de Alemania *Responsorium curiosorum sive Mensa philosophica*, Lübeck: Lucas Brandis, 1476.
- (234) *1 rosarium beate Marie virginis non ligatum* – *Rosarium Beatae Virginis Mariae*.
- (235) *1 dialogus de amore* – Jacobus de Reno *Dialogus senis et juvenis de amore*. Bound together with the following entry:
- (236) *cum aliis libellulis in pergameno ligatus* – A made-up volume.
- (237) *1 epistole sanctissimorum non ligate*. See no. 107.
- (238) *1 epistole Plinii secundi ligate in asseribus* – Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus *Epistolae*.

- (239) *1 epistula plutarchi non ligata* – *Epistola Plutarchi ad Traianum Imperatorem*, part 3 of the *Opuscula varia*?
- (240) *1 Francisci Barbari non ligati* – Francisco Barbaro *De re uxoria*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1513.
- (241) *1 libellus apostolorum* – *Libellus apostolorum nationis Gallicae*, Paris 1512.
- (242) *1 speculum discipline monastice in pergameno ligatum*. See nos. 124, 260.
- (243) *1 gloria monachi* – Unidentified, there is no book with this title. The phrase does appear in the heading of chapter 45, *De gloria monachi cuius anima ad instar sagittae fuit ante Deum*, of book 12 of Caesarius von Heisterbachs *Dialogus miraculorum*, Cologne about 1473 and 1481 respectively. Bound together with the following entry:
- (244) *cum textu Alexandri* – Alexander de Villa Dei.

[X] In tunna ista nota [...] signata continentur subsequentes libri.

- (245) *1 missale Rhomanum in filo* – *Missale Romanum*.
- (246) *1 sermones magistri Corneli de Snekis in pergameno ligati*. See nos. 15, 132, 218.
- (247) *1 pars hyemalis Vincentii in filo*. See nos. 187, 188.
- (248) *7 oraria Danica cruda de minori forma*. See nos. 205, 208, 230, 261, 268, 283.
- (249) *1 Liuia Fausti poete laureati non ligata* – Publius Faustus Andrelinus *Livia Fausti poetae laureati*, Paris: Felix Baligault, not before 1495.
- (250) *1 opus Pauli Orosii historiographi* – Paulus Orosius *Historiarum adversus Paganos Opus praestantissimum*.
- (251) *4 breviaria ligata ad usum Lundensem*. See nos. 1, 111, 204, 207, 259, 281.
- (252) *2 historia ecclesiastica in pergameno ligata* – Eusebius Caesariensis *Historia ecclesiastica*.
- (253) *1 allegorie sententiarum super utrumque testamentum ligate in asseribus*. See nos. 67, 133.
- (254) *1 Lucianus in filo* – Lucianus Samosatensis.
- (255) *12 Donatus in pergameno ligati* – *Donatus minor* or *Ars minor*.
- (256) [1?] *Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum in nudis asseribus* – Bartholomaeus Anglicus *Liber de proprietatibus rerum*.
- (257) [1?] *alphabetum cruda*. See nos. 211, 225, 266.
- (258) *1 breviarium Roschildense non ligatum*. See no. 183.
- (259) *12 breviaria Lundensis diocesis non ligata*. See nos. 1, 111, 204, 207, 251, 281.
- (260) *1 speculum monastice*. See nos. 124, 242.
- (261) *1 orarium Danicum ligatum de impressione Haffnensi*. See nos. 205, 208, 230, 248, 268, 283.

- (262) *1 gemma anime in pergamenno ligata* – Honorius Augustodunensis *Gemma anime*, Leipzig 1514.
 - (263) [1] *Plutarchus in filo* – Plutarchus *Problemata*?
 - (264) [1] *parrochiale curatorum in pergamenno* – Michael Lochmaier *Parrochiale curatorum*.
 - (265) [1?] *partes hyemales Couasrubias in filo*. See no. 117.
 - (266) *400 alphabeta in pergamenno ligata*. See nos. 211, 225, 257.
 - (267) *4 sermones dormi secure de tempore pars hyemalis et estivalis* – Johannes de Werdena *Sermones Dominicales Dormi secure de tempore et de sanctis*.
 - (268) *36 oraria in filo de minima forma*. See nos. 205, 208, 230, 248, 261, 283.
 - (269) *1 pupilla oculi in pergamenno ligata*. See no. 167.
 - (270) *1 Procopius de bello Persico in pergamenno ligatus* – Procopius Caesariensis *De bello Persica*, Rome 1506 or 1509.
 - (271) *1 volumen de ultimis voluntatibus ligatum in pergamenno* – An Italian edition of Andreas Barbatias *Repetitio super titulo De testamentis et ultimis voluntatibus* or Rolandinus de Passageriis *Flores ultimarum voluntatum*?
 - (272) *5 rubrici tocus juris canonici* – *Rubricae totius juris canonici et civilis*, Paris 1504.
 - (273) *1 Bonifacius de cena purificati ordinis Minorum* – Unidentified.
 - (274) *1 Erasmus de duplici copia verborum in pergamenno verborum* [sic] – Desiderius Erasmus *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*.
 - (275) *1 Cassiodorus de regimine ecclesie primitive in pergamenno ligatus* – Cassiodorus *De regimine Ecclesie primitive historia tripartita*, Paris.
 - (276) *Topica* [sic!] *magistri Petri Mantuani in pergamenno ligata* – Probably *Logica magistri Petri Mantuani*, Venice 1492.
 - (277) *1 dialogus* – William of Ockham *Dialogus inter clericum et militem*, Paris 1498? Bound together with the following entry:
 - (278) *cum aliis libellulis in pergamenno ligatus* – A made-up volume of a collection of small prints.
 - (279) *12 Petri legiste parabola ligata in pergamenno*. See nos. 213, 231.
- [XI] In tunna ista nota d signata continentus subsequencia. [added by a different hand:] *Ista tunna est Lundis.*
- (280) *Item unum scrinum parvum in quo varia continentur.*
 - (281) *Item 4 breviaria non ligata ad usum Lundensis diocesis*. See nos. 1, 111, 204, 207, 251, 259.
 - (282) [Later crossed out:] *Item 1 Joannis Maioris super tertium et quartum sententiarum in filo*. See no. 46.
 - (283) *184 oraria in Danica lingua non ligata*. See nos. 205, 208, 230, 248, 261, 268.

Books from the Principal Pre-Reformation Danish Religious Libraries

Collections analysed, with abbreviation:

AugAeb	Monastery of the Augustine Friars in Aebelholt
BenNae	Monastery of the Benedictines in Næstved, known as ‘Skovkloster’
CarSae	Carmelite monastery in Saeby
CisEsr	Cistercian monastery in Esrom
Cismar	Benedictine monastery in Cismar
DomGau	Dominican monastery in Gaunoe
Fra	unknown Franciscan monastery
FraFle	Franciscan monastery in Flensborg
FraRib	Franciscan monastery in Ribe
FraRos	Franciscan monastery in Roskilde
FraSle	Franciscan monastery in Slesvig
FraToe	Franciscan monastery in Tønder
FraVib	Franciscan monastery in Viborg
Fyn	Fyn manor house belonging to the bishop of Odense
HGAal	Hospital of the Order of the Holy Ghost in Aalborg
HGHel	Hospital of the Order of the Holy Ghost in Helsingborg
HGRan	Hospital of the Order of the Holy Ghost in Randers
Øm	Cistercian monastery in Øm
Slesvig	Lecturer’s house in Slesvig

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Adrianus Cartusianus	C				
<i>De remediis utriusque fortunae</i>					
Agricola <i>Concordantia quattuor evangelistarum</i>				S	
Agricola Corona beate Marie virginis		Ö		S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Albertus Magnus <i>Enarrationes in evangelium Johannis</i>	C				
Albertus Magnus <i>In primum sententiarum</i>		Ö			
Albertus Magnus <i>Super...sententiarum</i>		Ö			FraRib
Albrecht of Eyb <i>Margarita poetica</i>				S	
Alexander Carpentarius <i>Destrutorium vitiorum</i>	C			S	
Alexander de Hales <i>Summa</i>	C				
Alphonsus de Spina <i>Fortalitium fidei</i>	C				AugAeb
Ambrosius <i>De officiis</i>		Ö			
Ambrosius <i>Expositio in evangelium Lucae</i>	C				
Ambrosius <i>Hexameron</i>		Ö			
Ambrosius <i>Opera</i>				S	
Andreae <i>Super arboribus consanguinitatis</i>				S	
Anglicus <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>				S	
Annius <i>De futuris Christianorum triumphis in Saracenos</i>				S	
Anselmus Cantuariensis <i>Cur deus homo</i>	C				
<i>Antiphonarium...secundum usum Cisterciensis ordinis?</i>		Ö			
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Chronicon</i>	C				
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa Historialis</i>					FraRib
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Summa theologica</i>	C				
Antoninus Florentinus <i>Tractatus de instructione seu directione simplicium confessorum</i>				S	
Antonio da Budrio <i>Super quarto libro Decretalium</i>				S	
Aquinas <i>Continuum in librum evangelii secundum matheum</i>		Ö			
Aquinas <i>Continuum in qu. Evang.</i>				S	
Aquinas <i>Copulata pulcerrima in novam logicam Aristotelis</i>					Fra
Aquinas <i>De expositione dominice orationis scilicet Pater noster</i>				S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Aquinas <i>De malo</i>				S	
Aquinas <i>In librum Salomonis qui Cantica Canticorum</i>		Ö			
Aquinas <i>In psalmos Davidis expositio</i>		Ö			
Aquinas <i>Prima-Secunda secundae pars</i>		Ö			
Aquinas <i>Quaestiones de potentia Dei</i>	C				
Aquinas <i>Quodlibeta varie questiones</i>				S	
Aquinas <i>Summa theologiae</i>	C			S	
Aquinas <i>Super primo libro Sententiarum</i>	C				
<i>Arbores Consanguinitatis</i>				S	
Aristoteles <i>Copulata logicae</i>					HGAal/ Ran
Aristoteles <i>Copulata veteris artis</i>					HGAal/ Ran
Aristoteles <i>Lapidarius</i>	C				
Astesano <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>				S	
Astesanus <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	C				
Auerbach <i>Summa de confessionis</i>	C				
Augustinus de Ancona <i>Summa de potestate ecclesiastica</i>				S	
Augustinus <i>De civitate Dei</i>				S	
Augustinus <i>De cognitione verae vitae</i>				S	
Augustinus <i>De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum</i>				S	
Augustinus <i>De consensu evangeliorum</i>				S	
Augustinus <i>De consensu evangelistarum</i>	C				
Augustinus <i>De Psalmo 135</i>		Ö			
Augustinus <i>De psalmo 74</i>		Ö			
Augustinus <i>De trinitate</i>					AugAeb
Augustinus <i>De vita christiana</i>				S	
Augustinus <i>Enchiridion de fide</i>	C			S	
Augustinus <i>Epistolae</i>	C				
Augustinus <i>Explanatio psalmorum</i>	C				
Augustinus <i>Expositio in evangelium Johannis</i>		Ö			

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Augustinus <i>Homilia</i>		Ö			
Augustinus <i>In psalmos aliquot</i>		Ö			
Augustinus <i>Sermo qui incipit cum tremore & timore</i>		Ö			
Augustinus <i>Sermones</i>				S	FraRib
Augustinus <i>Summa de ecclesiastica potestate</i>	C				
Augustinus <i>Tractatus de Psalmo 101</i>		Ö			
Aureoli <i>Compendium litteralis bibliae</i>	C				
Aurora in librum geneleos		Ö			
Azo <i>Summa super Codice</i>	C				
Balbus <i>Catholicon</i>		Ö			
Baptista de Salis <i>Summa casuum conscientiae</i>	C				CisEsr
Bartholomaeus de Bellincinis <i>Apostillae</i>	C				
Bartholomaeus de Chaimis <i>Interrogatorium seu Confessionale</i>	C				
Bartholomaeus Montagnana <i>Consilia medica</i>	C				
Barzizius <i>Epistolae</i>				S	
Baufet <i>Dialogus de septem sacramentis</i>		Ö			
Beda <i>Homilia</i>		Ö			
Beda <i>Super Lucam</i>		Ö			
Berchorius <i>Liber Bibliae moralis</i>				S	
Berchorius <i>Repertorium morale</i>	C				
Bernardinus <i>Quadragesimale</i>		Ö			
Bernardinus Senensis <i>De contractibus</i>	C				
Bernardinus Senensis <i>Quadragesimale de christiana religione</i>	C				
Bernardinus Senensis <i>Sermones de evangelio</i>	C				
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>De consideratione</i>		Ö		S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>De gradibus humilitatis</i>		Ö			
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>De planctu Beatae Mariae Virginis</i>				S	
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Dulciloquium de incarnatione Jesu Christi</i>				S	
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Homilia super evangelio Missus est angelus Gabriel</i>		Ö			
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Liber epistolaris</i>		Ö			
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Opera</i>		Ö		S	
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Passio sive sermo in diebus Parasceves</i>				S	
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Sermones</i>				S	
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Sermones super Cantica canticorum</i>	C	Ö		S	
Bernardus Claraevallensis? <i>Breviloquus Bernhardi?</i>				S	
Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Flores</i>	C				
Bernardus Parmensis <i>Casus super libros decretalium</i>	C				
Berno <i>Libellus de officio missae</i>				S	
Biblia latina	C			S	HGAal
<i>Biblia latina Hugonis de S. Charo</i>				S	
<i>Biblia latina Nicolai de Lyra</i>				S	
<i>Biblia latina Nicolai de Lyra</i>				S	
Biel <i>Sermones?</i>		Ö			
Boethius <i>De consolatione philosophiae</i>				S	
Bonaventura <i>Breviloquium</i>	C				FraToe
Bonaventura <i>Compendium sacre theologiae pauperis</i>				S	
Bonaventura <i>Diaeta salutis</i>	C				
Bonaventura <i>Elucidatio in quartum librum Sententiarum</i>					FraToe
Bonaventura <i>Expositio in quatuor libros sententiarum</i>				S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Bonaventura <i>Itinerarium mentis in Deum</i> .					FraToe
Bonaventura <i>Liber II Sententiarum cum disputatis</i>					FraRib
Bonaventura <i>Vita Christi</i>			Fy		
Bonifacius VIII <i>Sextus liber decretalium Breviarium</i>		Ö			
<i>Breviarium Lubicense</i>		Ö		S	
<i>Breviarium Lundense</i>			Fy		
<i>Breviarium Ripense</i>			Fy		
<i>Breviarium Romanum</i>				S	
<i>Breviarium Roschildense</i>			Fy		
Breydenbach <i>Peregrinatio in terram sanctam</i>		Ö			
Bruno <i>Psalterium</i>				S	
Bugenhagen <i>In Regum duos ultimos libros annotationes</i>		Ö			
Burlaeus <i>De vita et moribus philosophorum</i>				S	
Calepinus <i>Vocabularius Thesaurus Copiosissimus</i>				S	
<i>Cantica Canticorum....Ioanis Halgrini ab Abbatisuilla</i>		Ö			
Caraccioli <i>Sermones</i>				S	
Caraccioli <i>Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia</i>				S	
Cassianus <i>De institutis coenobiorum</i>	C				
Cassiodorus <i>Expositio in Psalterium</i>				S	
Cassiodorus <i>Historia tripertita</i>				S	
<i>Catalogus sanctorum</i> [Petrus de Natalibus?]		Ö			
Cato <i>Ethica</i>				S	
Champier <i>De triplici disciplina Medicina Chronicle</i> [German]			Fy		
<i>Chronicon slavica</i>				S	
Chrysostomus <i>Dialogi de dignitate sacerdotii</i>				S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Chrysostomus <i>Homiliae</i>				S	
Chrysostomus <i>Opera</i>		Ö			
Chrysostomus <i>Sermones</i>				S	
Chrysostomus <i>Sermones in Job</i>	C				
Cicero <i>De finibus bonorum et maloreum</i>				S	
Cicero <i>Rhetorica nova</i>	C				
Cinus de Pistorio <i>Lectura super Confessionale</i>	C				
<i>Clementinarum liber</i>		Ö			
<i>Codex Juris civilis</i>		Ö			
<i>Codex Justinianus</i> ('Jus imperiale')?		Ö			
<i>Compendium juris Canonici</i>					FraToe
<i>Concordantia Bibliae Canonum</i>					FraToe
<i>Concordantia majores Bibliae</i>					FraRib
Conradus de Alemania <i>Concordantiae Bibliorum</i>	C				
<i>Considerationes variae ex scripturis</i>		Ö			
<i>Constitutiones Clementinae</i>				S	
<i>Corona beate Marie virginis</i>		Ö			FraRib
Cyprianus <i>De Misericordia...ad Donatum</i>		Ö			
Cyprianus <i>Epistolae/Opera</i>				S	FraRib
Cyrillus <i>Speculum sapientiae</i>	C				
<i>De benedictionibus variis Mariae</i>				S	
<i>De contemptu mundi</i>		Ö			
<i>De contractibus et vitalitiis</i>	C				
<i>De futuris Christianorum triumphis in Saracenos, seu glossa super Apocalypsis</i>		Ö			
<i>Decretale</i>		Ö		S	
Despautère <i>Opusculum in elegantis</i>					Fra
Despautère <i>Rudimenta grammatica</i>					Fra
Despautère <i>Syntaxis</i>					Fra
<i>Dialogus inter clericum et militem super dignitate papali et regia</i>				S	
<i>Dialogus inter Hugonem, Catonem, et Oliverium super libertate ecclesiastica</i>				S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Diaz de Montalvo <i>Repertorium Panormitani</i>	C				
<i>Dictionarium (Vocabularius) Gemma Gemmarum</i>		Ö			
<i>Digestum novum</i>		Ö			
<i>Digestum vetus</i>		Ö			
Dionysius Arepagita <i>Opera</i>					FraSle
Dionysius de Burgo <i>Commentarius in Valeriam Maximum</i>	C				
Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano <i>Super sexto decretalium</i>				S	
Dominicus <i>Lectura super Decretalium Donatus</i>	C				BenNae
Duns Scotus <i>Quaestiones super libris Sententiarum</i>	C			S	
<i>Durandus In quattuor Sententiarum libros</i>				S	
<i>Durandus Rationale divinatorum</i>		Ö		S	
Ebendorfer <i>Sermones dominicales super Pauli</i>	C				
<i>Elementarium doctrinae</i>		Ö			
Erasmus <i>Familiarum colloquiorum</i>		Ö			
Erasmus <i>In novum testamentum</i>		Ö			FraRos
Erasmus <i>Institutio principis Christiani</i>			Fy		
Erasmus <i>Paraclesis</i>		Ö			
Erasmus <i>Paraphrases</i>		Ö			
Eucherius of Lyons <i>de contemptu mundi et cultu Dei</i>		Ö			
Eucherius of Lyons <i>De essentia divinitis</i>		Ö			
Eusebius Caesariensis <i>Chronicon</i>				S	
Eusebius Caesariensis <i>De praeparatione evangelica</i>	C			S	
<i>Evangeliariorum</i>			Fy		
<i>Evangelium Nicodemi</i>				S	
<i>Exordium ordinis cisterciensium</i>		Ö			
<i>Expositio sequentiarum</i>		Ö			

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Farinator <i>Lumen animae</i>	C				
Faustus Episcopus <i>Sermo ad monachos</i>		Ö			
Felix Pratensis <i>Psalterium</i>		Ö			
Ferrer <i>De fine mundi</i>	C				
Ferrer <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	C				
Flavius Josephus		Ö			
Flavius Josephus <i>De bello Judaico</i>		Ö			
Flavius Josephus <i>Historia</i>		Ö			
Fliscus <i>Synonyma</i>	C				
<i>Flores poetarum de virtutibus et vitiis</i>			Fy		
<i>Flores psalmorum</i>		Ö			
<i>Florus</i>				S	
<i>Forma absolutionis</i>				S	
<i>Formulare advocatorum et procuratorum Romane curie</i>	C			S	
<i>Franciscus de Mayronis Sermones</i>	C	Ö			
Fulgentius <i>Opera</i>		Ö			
<i>Fundamentum in grammatica</i>					BenNae
Gazio <i>Florida Corona</i>			Fy		
Gerson <i>Conclusiones de diversis materiis moralibus</i>				S	
Gerson <i>De examinatione doctrinarum</i>	C				
Gerson <i>De laude scriptorum ad Carthusienses et Coelestinos</i>				S	
Gerson <i>De simonia</i>	C				
Gerson <i>Donatus moralisatus</i>	C				
Gerson <i>Monotessaron</i>				S	
Gerson <i>Opera</i>	C				
Gerson <i>Trilogium astrologiae</i>	C				
<i>Gesta pontificum bremensium</i>		Ö			
Gilbert of Hoyland <i>Sermones super cantica canticorum</i>		Ö			
Gobi Junior <i>Scala coeli</i>	C				
Gratianus <i>Decretum Gratiani</i>		Ö		S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Gregorius I [unknown title]				S	
Gregorius I <i>De resurrectione</i>		Ö			
Gregorius I <i>Homiliae super evangelis</i>				S	HGRan
Gregorius I <i>Homiliae super Ezechielem</i>					HGRan
Gregorius I <i>Moralia</i>	C	Ö		S	
Gregorius I <i>Pastorale</i>		Ö			
Gregorius I. <i>Epistolae</i>	C				
Gregorius I. <i>Expositio super Cantica Canticorum</i>	C				
Gregorius IX. <i>Liber V Decretalium</i>					FraRib
Gritsch <i>Quadragesimale</i>	C				
Guido de Baysio <i>Rosarium decretorum</i>	C			S	
Guilbertus/Gibertus <i>In genesin</i>		Ö			
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>De fide sacramentis</i>	C				
Guilelmus Parisiensis <i>Postilla sive expositio epistolarum</i>				S	
Guilelmus Peraldus <i>Summa virtutum</i>		Ö			
Guilielmus de Lugduno <i>Sermones</i>		Ö			
Henricus de Hassia <i>Vocabularius Bibliae</i>				S	
Henricus de Vrimaria <i>Praeceptorium</i>				S	
Henry of Hesse/Langenstein/Heinbuche <i>Secreta sacerdotum</i>				S	
Herben <i>De constructione substantivorum</i>					BenNae
Herodot				S	
Herodot <i>Historiae</i>	C				
Herolt <i>Liber Discipuli de eruditione Christifidelium</i>				S	
Herolt <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	C				
Herp <i>Speculum aureum</i>	C			S	HGAal
Hieronymus <i>Epistolae</i>	C			S	
Hieronymus <i>In Oseam</i>		Ö			
Hieronymus <i>Index...cum interpretationes nominum hebraicorum</i>		Ö			
Hieronymus <i>Omnium operum tom. primus-nonus</i>		Ö			

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Hieronymus <i>Vita et transitus</i>				S	
Hieronymus <i>Vitae patrum</i>		Ö			
Hilarius <i>De trinitate</i>				S	
Hilarius <i>Lucubrationes</i>					FraVib
<i>Historia sancti Clementis</i>		Ö			
Holkot <i>Opus super Salomonis</i>	C				
Holkot <i>Super libros Sapientiae</i>				S	FraRib
<i>Homiliae praestantissimorum ecclesiae doctorum</i>		Ö			
Honorius Augustodunensis <i>De praedestinatione</i>	C				
Honorius Augustodunensis <i>Gemma animae</i>		Ö			
<i>Hora</i> [Danish]			Fy		
<i>Hora</i> [Latin]			Fy		
Horatius Flaccus <i>Opera</i>	C				
Hugo de Folieto <i>Tractatus de Claustro animae</i>		Ö			
Hugo de Novo Castro <i>De victoria Christi contra Antichristum</i>				S	
Hugo de Prato Florido <i>Sermones</i>		Ö			
Hugo de Sancto Victore <i>De sacramentis</i>	C				FraToe
Hugo <i>Liber confessionum</i>		Ö			
<i>In cantica canticorum?</i>		Ö			
<i>Infra textus Esaiiae Prophetiae</i>		Ö			
Innocentius III <i>Liber de contemptu mundi</i>				S	
<i>Institutiones Iustiniani</i>		Ö			
Isidorus Hispalensis <i>De summo bono et soliloquiorum</i>		Ö			
Isidorus Hispalensis <i>Etymologiae</i>				S	
<i>Iura obscura</i> ('Iura obscura: Casus iuris')		Ö			
Jacobus de Clusa <i>Quodlibetum statuum humanorum</i>	C			S	
Jacobus de Clusa <i>Sermones dominicales</i>	C				
Jacobus de Gruytrode <i>Lavacrum conscientiae</i>				S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Jacobus de Theramo <i>Belial</i>	C				
Jacobus de Voragine <i>Legenda aurea</i>		Ö			
Jacobus de Voragine <i>Sermones</i>	C			S	
Johannes de Bromyard <i>Summa praedicatorum</i>	C	Ö			
Johannes de Garlandia <i>Multorum vocabu- lorum equiuocorum interpretatio</i>		Ö			
Johannes de Lapide <i>Resolutorium dubio- rum misse</i>				S	
Johannes de Tambaco <i>Consolatio theologiae</i>	C				
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>De efficacia aquae benedictae</i>	C				
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Expositio Psalterii</i>	C			S	
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Quaestiones evangeliorum Add: Nicolaus de Byard Flos theologiae</i>				S	
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Quaestiones evangeliorum de tempore et de sanctis</i>	C			S	
Johannes de Turrecremata <i>Super psalmos</i>		Ö			
Johannes Nicolaus de Mili <i>Repertorium juris alias Absenti</i>				S	
John Halgren of Abbeville <i>Sermones super epistolas dominicales</i>		Ö			
Jordanus de Quedlinburg <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	C				
Junianus Maius <i>De priscorum verborum</i>	C				
Juvenalis <i>Interpretationibus fabularum poeticarum</i>				S	
<i>La vita deli gloriosi santi hospiti de Christo Lazaro Martha e Magdalena</i>		Ö			
Lactantius <i>De divinis institutionibus</i>				S	
<i>Laudes beatae Marie virginis</i>		Ö			
LeFèvre d'Etaples <i>Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia</i>		Ö			

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
<i>Legenda</i>		Ö			
<i>Legendulum balich</i>		Ö			
Leo I <i>Sermones</i>		Ö			
Leonardus <i>De modo instruendi egretos?</i>		Ö			
Leonardus de Utino <i>Sermones</i>	C	Ö			
<i>Liber Barlaam</i>		Ö			
<i>Liber epistolarum</i>		Ö			
<i>Liber historiarum multarum</i>		Ö			
<i>Liber psalmorum</i>		Ö			
Lombard Magister <i>Sententiarum</i>				S	
Lombardus <i>Glossa Psalterii</i>	C				
Lombardus <i>Liber sententiarum</i>	C				
Lucanus				S	
Ludolphus de Saxonia <i>Vita Christi</i>	C	Ö	Fy	S	
Luther <i>De abroganda missa private</i>		Ö			
Luther <i>De servo arbitrio</i>		Ö			
Luther <i>In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas</i>		Ö			
Luther <i>Postilla</i>		Ö			
Magni <i>Sophologium</i>	C				
Maior <i>In quartum sententiarum</i>			Fy		
<i>quaestiones</i>					
Mapheus Vegius <i>Dialogus super Alethiam et Philaleten</i>				S	
Marchesinus <i>Mammotrectus super Bibliam</i>	C	Ö			
<i>Margarita Davitica psalmorum</i>	C				
<i>Mariale</i>		Ö			
Marinus de Fregeno <i>Liber de indulgentiis</i>				S	
Martialis <i>Cum duobus commentis</i>				S	
<i>Materia predicabilis?</i>				S	
Meffret <i>Sermones</i>	C	Ö		S	
Melanchthon <i>Loci communes</i>		Ö			
<i>Missale</i>		Ö			
<i>Missale cisterciensium</i>		Ö			
Molitoris <i>Tabula summa theologicae</i>	C				
Mollenbecke <i>Tabula in libros testamenti</i>	C				

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Morung <i>Passio dominorum sacerdotum sub dominio marchionis secundum Matthaeum</i>				S	
Nicolaus de Ausmo <i>Supplementum summae</i>	C			S	
Nicolaus de Cusa <i>De ultimis diebus mundi</i>				S	
Nicolaus de Lyra <i>Postilla super Bibliam</i>	C				FraRib/ Toe
Nicolaus de Lyra <i>Repertorium alphabeti- cum sententiarum prestantium</i>					FraRib
Nicolaus de Saliceto <i>Antidotarius animae</i>	C				
Nicolaus Panormitanus <i>Lectura super libros Decretalium</i>				S	
Nider <i>Manuale confessorum</i>				S	
Nider <i>Praeceptorium divinae</i>				S	
Nider <i>Praeceptorium divinae legis</i>	C				
Nider <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	C			S	
<i>Novum Testamentum Danice</i> [Danish]		Ö			
Odo of Cheriton <i>Flores sermonum</i>		Ö			
Oecolampadius <i>In Esaïam</i>		Ö			
<i>Ogier le Danois</i>			Fy		
<i>Opus insigne de laudibus Mariae virginis</i>		Ö			
<i>Oraria</i> [Danish]			Fy		
<i>Oration in funere Petri Cardinalis</i>				S	
<i>Orationes de sanctis</i>			Fy		
Origenes <i>Homiliae</i>					HGHel
Origenes <i>In...Leviticum</i>		Ö			
Origines <i>Tomus primus-quartus</i>		Ö			
Orosius				S	
Orosius <i>Historiae</i>	C				
Ovidius				S	
Ovidius <i>De vetula</i>	C				
Pacheco <i>Obedientia Potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitaniae Regis</i>				S	
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Flores utriusque iuris</i>	C				

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Glossae Clementinae</i>	C				
Panormitanus de Tudeschis <i>Super libros Decretalium</i>	C				
<i>Passio sanctorum decem milium militum ac martyrum crucifixorum</i>		Ö			
Paulus Diaconus <i>Opus preclarum omnium omeliarum</i>				S	
Paulus Flaccus Persius				S	
Peckam <i>De oculo morali</i>	C				
Pelagius <i>De planctu ecclesiae</i>	C				
Pelbartus of Temeswar <i>Sermones</i>	C	Ö		S	
Pellicanus <i>Opera</i>		Ö			
<i>Peniteas cito</i>				S	
Petrarca				S	
Petrarca <i>De remediis utriusque fortunae</i>	C			S	
Petrarca <i>De vita solitaria</i>				S	
Petrarca <i>Epistola ad dominum Joannem Florentinum de historia Griseldis</i>				S	
Petrarca <i>Secretum de contemptu mundi</i>				S	
Petrus Blesensis <i>Epistolae</i>				S	
Petrus Cantor Parisiensis <i>Sermones</i>		Ö			
Petrus de Aquila Scotellus <i>Super quatuor libros magistri sententiarum</i>				S	
Petrus de Bergamo <i>Tabula super Thomae Aquinatis</i>	C			S	
Petrus de Montagnano <i>Fasciculus medicinae</i>			Fy		
Petrus de Monte <i>Repertorium utriusque juris</i>	C			S	
Petrus de Natalibus <i>Catalogus sanctorum</i>				S	
Petrus de Palude <i>In quartum sententiarum</i> [?]				S	
Petrus de Palude <i>Sermones thesauri</i>				S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Petrus de Palude(?) <i>Sermones thesauri novi</i>		Ö			
Petrus de Rosenheim <i>Roseum memoriale</i>	C				
<i>divinorum eloquiorum</i>					
Petrus Hispanus <i>Summulae</i>					BenNae
Petrus Langobardus <i>In omnes epistolas</i>		Ö			
<i>Pharetra</i>		Ö			
Pico della Mirandola <i>Opera</i>				S	
Pius II			Fy		
Pius II <i>De duobus amantibus Euryalo et</i>				S	
<i>Lucretia</i>					
Pius II <i>De educatione puerorum ad regem</i>				S	
<i>Bohemiae liber</i>					
Pius II <i>Dialogus contra Bohemos atque</i>				S	
<i>Thaboritas</i>					
Pius II <i>Epistolae familiares</i>				S	
Pius II <i>Historia Bohemorum</i>				S	
Platina <i>Historia de Vitis pontificum</i>				S	
Plutarchus				S	
Plutarchus <i>Vitae virorum illustrium</i>	C				
Poggio Bracciolini <i>Facetiae</i>	C			S	
Policratici <i>Contenta</i>			Fy		
Porcius <i>Declamatio in Turcos</i> [?]				S	
Priscianus				S	
<i>Prologus Arminensis in mappam Terrae</i>	C				
<i>sanctae</i>					
Prosper <i>De vita contemplativa</i>		Ö			
Prosper <i>Libellus Prosperi</i>				S	
Prudentius <i>Apotheosis</i>				S	
<i>Psalteria</i>		Ö			
<i>Psalterium latinum</i>	C				
Pseudo-Bernardus Claraevallensis <i>Flores</i>				S	
[Bernardus Guidonis <i>Flores</i>					
<i>Chronicorum</i> ?]					
Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagitus <i>Coelestis</i>				S	
<i>hierarchia ecclesiastica hierarchia</i>					
<i>Purgatorium patricii</i>		Ö			

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
<i>Quadragesimale et adventuale De arte moriendi</i>			Fy		
<i>Quaestiones naturales</i>				S	
<i>Quaestiones naturales</i>				S	
<i>Quatuor partes glossae ordinariae</i>		Ö			
Raynerius de Pisis <i>Pantheologia</i>				S	
<i>Regulae grammaticales antiquorum</i>					BenNae
<i>Remigius seu Dominus que pars</i>					BenNae
Remigius <i>Super Donatum</i>		Ö			
<i>Remissorum textus summarum et decreti</i>				S	
<i>Repertorium alphabeticum</i>				S	
<i>Responsoria</i>		Ö			
Reuchlin <i>Vocabularius cum</i> [Guarinus of Verona] <i>arte diphthongandi</i>				S	
Riccus <i>De Regibus Galliae, Hispaniae, Hierosolymi, Siciliae et Hungariae</i>			Fy		
Richardus de Sancto Victore		Ö			
Robertus de Caracciolus <i>Sermones de adventu</i>	C				
<i>Rudimentum novitiorum</i>					DomGau/ BenNae
Rupertus von Deutz <i>Commentarius in Ionam et Micham</i>		Ö			
Rupertus von Deutz <i>Commentarius in sex prophetas minores</i>		Ö			
Sabellicus <i>Historia Hebreorum</i>				S	
Saxo <i>De Denscke kroneke</i>			Fy	S	
Saxo Grammaticus <i>Danorum Regum heroumque historia</i>		Ö	Fy		
<i>Scripta patrum super exodum</i>		Ö			
Seneca <i>Epistolae</i>	C				
<i>Sententiae In secundum sententiarum</i>				S	
<i>Sermo de adventu domini</i>		Ö			
<i>Sermones</i>				S	
<i>Sermones discipuli</i>		Ö			

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
<i>Sermones diversi incerti authoris</i>		Ö			
<i>Sermones dormi secure</i>		Ö			
<i>Sermones qui bigas salutis intitulantur</i>		Ö			
<i>Sermonum parati</i>		Ö			
<i>Servius Commentarii in Vergilii opera</i>				S	
<i>Sextus Clementini et extravagantes</i>		Ö			
<i>Sixtus IV. De sanguine Christi</i>	C				
<i>Smaragdus</i>		Ö			
<i>Soccus Sermones de tempore</i>	C				
<i>Statuta synodalia</i>			Fy		
<i>Stella clericorum</i>				S	
<i>Summa confessorum</i>		Ö			
<i>Summa de Casibus conscientiae</i>		Ö			
<i>Summa de regimine vitae humanae</i>	C				
<i>Summa viciorum</i>		Ö			
<i>Super psalmos</i>				S	
<i>Tartellius De orthographia e Graecis</i>	C				
<i>Tataretus Expositio in Summula Petri Hispani</i>					FraFle
<i>Tertulian Opera</i>		Ö			
<i>Textus Biblie</i>		Ö			
<i>Textus psalmorum</i>		Ö			
<i>Textus Sententiarum</i>		Ö			
<i>Theophylact Enarrationes in quattuor Evangelia</i>					Fra
<i>Thomas a Kempis Opera</i>	C				
<i>Thomas Cantipratensis De proprietatibus apum</i>	C			S	
<i>Thomas de Argentina Super libris Sententiarum</i>	C				
<i>Tortellius Vocabularius</i>				S	
<i>Tractatus de contractibus et vitalitiis</i>				S	
<i>Tractatus de missa</i>				S	
<i>Tractatus de noniis gladiis Mariae</i>				S	
<i>Tractatus de salutatione angelica</i>				S	

(Continued)

Author/title	Provenances				
	Cismar	Øm	Fyn	Slesvig	Others
Trithemius <i>De laudibus ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum</i>					CarSae
Ubertinus de Casali <i>Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu</i>	C				
Udino <i>Sermones</i>				S	
<i>Variae exhortationes</i>		Ö			
<i>Variae expositiones</i>		Ö			
<i>Variae quaestiones scripturarum</i>		Ö			
Werner von Schussenried <i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque Jure</i>				S	
Versor <i>Quaestiones super Aristoteles</i>					HGAal
Vespucchi <i>Mundus novus</i>				S	
William of Ockham <i>Super sententias</i>		Ö			
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>De liberali ingenuorum</i>	C				
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Opuscula</i>	C				
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum doctrinale</i>	C			S	
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum historiale</i>	C			S	
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum morale</i>		Ö		S	
Vincentius Bellovacensis <i>Speculum naturale</i>		Ö		S	
[<i>Virgin of the rosary</i>]				S	
<i>Vita Sancti Bernardi</i>		Ö			
<i>Vitas & passiones aliquot sanctorum</i>		Ö			
<i>Vitas Patrum</i>	C				
Witte de Hese <i>Itinerarius a Jerusalem</i>				S	
Vivaldi Aureum <i>Opus de veritate contritionis</i>				S	
<i>Vocabularius juris</i>				S	
<i>Vocabularius utriusque iuris</i>	C				

The Lecturer's Library in Slesvig

Drawn from Johannes Lindbaek and Ellen Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser fra det 16. Aarhundredes Begyndelse', *Danske Magazin* 1 (1913), 307–319, augmented with bibliographical and other comments.

['I] In sacris literis'

- (1) *Quatuor partes glossae ordinariae in maiori forma* – The Bible with commentaries.
- (2) *Quatuor partes Lyrae super biblia in aequali forma* – *Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*.
- (3) *Septem partes Hugonis cardinalis super eadem biblia in mediocri forma* – Johann Amerbach the *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis de S. Charo*, Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1498–1502.
- (4) *Una textualis biblia in maiori forma rubea* – The Bible without commentaries.
- (5) *Duae partes textuales bibliae in mediocri forma* – The Bible without commentaries.
- (6) *Tres partes Lyrae super biblia albo corio* – *Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*.
- (7) *Tres partes pantheologiae etc. albo corio in aequali forma cum prioribus* – Raynerius de Pisis *Pantheologia sive Summa universae theologiae*.
- (8) *Repertorium alphabeticum super biblia in magna forma* – *Repertorium alphabeticum*, Basel: Froben and Petri, 1508.
- (9) *Liber de vita Jesu Christi in magna forma rubeo corio* – Ludolphus de Saxonia *Liber de vita Christi*, Strasbourg 1483 or Cologne 1474.
- (10) *Continuum beati Thomae etc. in magna forma nigro corio* – Thomas Aquinas *Continuum in quattuor evangelistas* or *Cathenam auream*.
- (11) *Speculum doctrinale Vincentii Beluacensis in magna forma rubeo corio* – Vincentius Bellovacensis *Speculum doctrinale*.
- (12) *Speculum morale eadem forma* – Vincentius Bellovacensis *Speculum morale*.
- (13) *Speculum historiale duobis voluminibus in maiori forma nigro corio* – Vincentius Bellovacensis *Speculum historiale*.
- (14) *Epistolae beati Hyeronimi in maiori forma nigro corio* – Saint Hieronymus *Epistolarum*.
- (15) *Augustinus de civitate dei in maiori forma nigro corio* – Aurelius Augustinus *De civitate deiv*.

- (16) *Augustinus de consensu evangelistarum in volumine mediocri nigro corio* – Augustinus *Opuscula*, Venice 1491?
- (17) *Gregorius in moralibus super Job in maiori forma* – Gregorius I's *Moralia in Job*.
- (18) *Psalterium Johannis de terra cremata in media forma* – Johannes de Turrecremata *Expositio in psalterium*.
- (19) *Psalterium Brunonis in minori forma rubeo corio* – Saint Bruno's *Psalterium beati Brunonis episcopi herbipolensis*.
- (20) *Historia scholastica in media forma rubeo corio* – Petrus Comestor *Historia scholastica*.
- (21) *Historia Hybreorum in mino forma medio corio circumdatus* – *Historia Hebreorum* or Flavius Josephus' *De antiquitate Judaica* or *De bello judaico*.
- (22) *Cathalogus sanctorum in minori forma glauco corio* – Petrus de Natalibus *Catalogus sanctorum*.
- (23) *Actus apostolorum in minori forma scripti in pergameno* – Manuscript.
- (24) *Hilarius de sancta Trinitate* – Hilarius *De trinitate contra Arianos*, Venice or Milan 1489? Bound together with
- (25) *et super psalmis in mediocri forma glauco corio* – Apparently not by Hilarius. Bound together with
- (26) *et ibidem passio Salvatoris scripta* – Manuscript.
- (27) *Eusebius Pamphili de evangelica preparatione* – Eusebius Caesariensis *De evangelica praeparatione*. Bound together with
- (28) *cum tractatu de victoria Christi contra Antichristum magistri Hugonis* – Hugo de Novo Castro *De victoria Christi contra Antichristum*, Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, 1471. Bound together with
- (29) *Item conjectura domini Nicolai de Cusa in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio* – Nicolaus de Cusa *Conjectura domini* is in fact his *De ultimis diebus mundi*.¹
- (30) *Liber de bono universali de proprietatibus apum* – Thomas Cantimpratus *Bonum universale de proprietatibus apum*. Bound together with
- (31) *cum libro de consideratione Bernardi* – Bernardus Claravallensis *De consideratione*. Bound together with
- (32) *et vocabularius bibliae in uno volumine nigro corio mediocri forma* – Henricus de Hassia *Vocabularius Bibliae*, Ulm: Johann zainer, 1476?
- (33) *Quaestiones super evangelia* – *Postilla et quaestiones super Epistolas et Evangelia* or Juan de Torquemada *Questiones super Euangelis totius anni* or Johannes de Turrecremata *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*. Bound together with

1 Santander de la Serna, *Dictionnaire bibliographique choisi du quinzième siècle*. Vol. 3 (Brussels 1807), 40–41 no. 746.

- (34) *cum concordantiis evangeliorum magistri Johannis Gerson in bono [uno?] volumine rubeo corio mediocri forma* – Johannes Gerson *Monotessaron sive Concordantiae IV evangelistarum*.
- (35) *Destructorium viciarum in uno volumine rubeo corio mediocri forma* – Alexander Anglicus (Carpentarius) *Destructorium vitiorum* Lyons: Claude Nourry 1509 or 1511?
- (36) *Robertus Holsker [sic] super li[brum sapientiae?] in uno volumine mediocri forma* – Robertus Holkot *Super librum Sapientiae*, Paris 1489?
- (37) *Colloquium super duodecim prophetas et super actus apostolorum scripta in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio* – Manuscript.
- (38) *Lirer [sic] moralis bibliae fratris Petri Bertorii in uno volumine mediocri forma glauco corio* – Petrus Berchorius (Pierre Bersuire) *Liber Bibliae moralis*.²
- (39) *Liber sermonum beati Bernardi in maiori volumine rubeo corio* – Bernardus Claraevallensis *Sermones*.
- (40) *Sermones eiusdem Bernardi super cantica in volumine mediocri rubeo corio et aureis litteris foris signato* – A specially decorated copy of Bernardus Claraevallensis *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*.
- (41) *Tres partes beati Ambrosii in mediocri forma foris aureis litteris inscriptae* – Ambrosius *Opera*, Basel: Johannes Petri, 1506.
- (42) *Omelia beati Gregorii* – Gregorius I: *Homiliae super Evangeliiis*. Bound together with
- (43) *cum evangelio Nicodemi* – *Evangelium Nicodemi*, Copenhagen: Poul Raeff 1514 or Leipzig: Melchior Lotter? Bound together with
- (44) *et aliis sermonibus in uno volumine rubeo colore mediocri forma* – A number of unidentifiable sermons.
- (45) *Sermones Chrisostomi* – Johannes Chrysostomus *Sermones*. Bound together with
- (46) *breviloquus Bernardini* – Bonaventura *Breviloquium?* Bound together with
- (47) *cum floribus Bernardi in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio* – Pseudo-Bernardus Claraevallensis *Flores* or *Floretus*.
- (48) *Omeliarius generalis de tempore et de sanctis in mediocri forma et rubeo corio* – Paulus Diaconus *Opus preclarum omnium omeliarum...de tempore et de sanctis*, Cologne ca. 1478 or Speyer: Peter Drach, 1482.
- (49) *Opus quadragesimalie Roperti de Licio in uno volumine mediocri et rubeo corio* – Robertus Caraccioli *Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia*, Strasbourg not after 1473 or Basel 1475.

² Copies of the Ulm 1474 and Cologne 1477 editions are preserved at the National Library of Denmark.

- (50) *Liber epistolarum et evangeliorum de tempore et sanctis postillatorum mediocri forma et rubeo corio collectus per Guilhelmmum* – Guilelmus Parisiensis (and Johannes Herolt) *Epistolarum et euangeliorum de tempore et sanctis liber*, Reutlingen around 1478, Strasbourg ca 1483 or Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1488.
- (51) *Expositio decalogi Johannis inde* [sic] – Johannes Nider *Praeceptorium divinae legis sive expositio Decalogi*, 15th century. Bound together with
- (52) *cum [...]* Gregorii *in mediocri forma et rubeo corio* – Unidentified.
- (53) *Sermones Johannis Nider in mediocri volumine corio glauco* – Johannes Nider *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*.
- (54) *Sermones Jacobi de Voragine de tempore et sanctis in mediocri forma et rubeo corio* – Jacobus de Voragine *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*.
- (55) *Sermones Leonardi de Utino in uno volumine mediocri forma et glauco corio* – Leonardus de Utino *Sermones*.
- (56) *Sermo Pomerii in duobus voluminibus mediocri forma et glauco colore* – Pelbartus de Temeswar *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*.
- (57) *Sermo Mesfret* [sic] *in uno volumine mediocri et corio rubeo foris argenteis litteris inscriptum* – Meffret *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis sive Hortulus regine*, not after 1496.
- (58) *Sermo Chrisostomi cum tractatu de poenis infernalibus scripto et tractatu de sacramento eucharistie scriptus in uno volumine mediocri forma rubeo corio* – Manuscript.
- (59) *Sermo Ruperti de Licio per adventum cum tractatu eiusdem de immortalitate animae et cum questione de conceptione beate virginis domini Bollau* [sic] *in uno parvo volumine glauco corio* – These three titles are usually treated as one bibliographical unit: *Sermones de adventu, ... Sermones de immortalitate animae*. add: *Dominicus Bollanus: de conceptione B.V.M.*, 1470s–1480s.
- (60) *Sermo thesauri novi in uno volumine mediocri ligato in pergamento* – Petrus de Palude *Sermones thesauri novi de tempore or de sanctis*.
- (61) *Sermones beati Augustini in mediocri forma rubeo corio* – *Sermones pulcerimi super dominicam orationem*, Cologne 1503?
- (62) *Sermones Henrici de Vrmatia scripti in mediocri volumine rubeo* – Manuscript.
- (63) *Sermones quadragesimales Jacobi de Voragine scripti in mediocri volumine* – Manuscript.
- (64) *Sermones generales de tempore scripti sine titulo in mediocri volumine rubeo corio cum uno parvo synadali* – Manuscript.
- (65) *Notata in postillas cum expositione dominicae orationis scripta in volumine mediocri rubeo* – Manuscript.

- (66) *Speculum preceptorum Henrici Herp in uno volumine mediocri forma nigro colore* – Henricus Herpius (Hendrik Herp) *Speculum aureum decem praeceptorum Dei*, Basel: Froben 1496?
- (67) *Opus trium materialium predicabilium in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio* – Unidentified.
- (68) *Liber Marini de Fregeno de indulgentiis in uno volumine mediocri albo corio* – Two letters of indulgence attributed to Marinus de Fregeno were published in Lübeck 1475 and Rostock 1476. The wording of this entry indicates something much more substantial than a letter of indulgence, namely a whole book on this subject. Maybe this is a copy of a now-lost printed edition of an unknown printed book (the writer of the original list has usually been very correct in indicating manuscripts in this book collection).
- (69) *Sermones Innocentii* – Innocentius III *Liber de contemptu mundi*, Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia in Louvain about 1484/85–1487? Bound together with
- (70) *cum vita beatae virginis* – Unidentified. Bound together with
- (71) *et sermonibus beati Bernhardi super cantica in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio* – Bernardus Claraevallensis *Sermones sancti Bernardi super Cantica canticorum*, Strasbourg 1497?
- (72) *Tractatus de officio missa Albertus Magnus super Missus est cum tractatu de laudibus Mariae virginis in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio, omnes scripti* – Manuscript.
- (73) *Varii tractatus de patria Johannis presbiteri, de contemptu mundi, psalterium morale cum aliis materiis in capite libri notatis in volumine scripti mediocri forma nigro corio* – Manuscript.
- (74) *Quodlibetum statuum humanorum Jacobi Carthusiani* – Jacobus de Clusa *Quodlibetum statuum humanorum*. Bound together with
- (75) *tractatus de contractibus et vitaliciis* – *Tractatus de contractibus et vitalitiis*, Strasbourg: Georg Reyser ca 1476. Bound together with
- (76) *Augustinus de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* – Aurelius Augustinus *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum*. Bound together with
- (77) *manuale confessorum Johannis Nider* – Johannes Nider *Manuale confessorum*, 15th century. Bound together with
- (78) *cum lectura arboris consanguinitatis et affinitatis in uno volumine rubeo corio* – Johannes Andreae *Super arboribus consanguinitatis, affinitatis et cognationis spiritualis*. Bound together with
- (79) *in eodem dialogus super libertate ecclesiastica* – *Dialogus inter Hugonem, Catonem, et Oliverium super libertate ecclesiastica*, 1477–1485.
- (80) *Psalterium Cassiodori in mediocri forma rubeo corio* – Cassiodorus *Expositio in Psalterium*.

- (81) *Remissorum textus summarum et decreti in uno volumine rubeo corio mediocri* – Unidentified.
- (82) *Liber sententiarum magistri in mediocri volumine rubeo corio* – Peter Lombardus *Magister sententiarum*.
- (83) *Quatuor partes Bonaventurae super libro sententiarum in parvo volumine rubeo corio et litteris aureis insigniti* [sic] – Bonaventura *Expositio in quatuor libros sententiarum*.
- (84) *Primum scriptum beati Thomae in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio* – Manuscript? The writer of this inventory usually indicates manuscript books with an indication placed after the title, alongside the description of the binding and decoration.
- (85) *Secundum scriptum beati Thomae in uno volumine maiori rubeo corio* – Manuscript? See no. 84.
- (86) *Tertium scriptum beati Thomae in uno volumine mediocri rubeo colore* – Manuscript? See no. 84.
- (87) *Prima pars summae beati Thomae in uno volumine maiori rubeo corio* – Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae*.
- (88) *Prima secundae summae beati Thomae in uno volumine mediocri scripto rubeo corio* – Manuscript.
- (89) *Secunda secundae beati Thomae in uno volumine maiori rubeo corio* – Thomas Aquina *Summa theologiae*. See no. 87.
- (90) *Tertia pars summae beati Thomae in uno volumine maiori rubeo corio* – Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*. See no. 87.
- (91) *Durandus super libri sententiarum in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio* – Durandus *In quattuor Sententiarum libros*, Paris: Jean Petit 1508.
- (92) *Scotus in uno volumine maiori rubeo corio* – Duns Scotus.
- (93) *Petri de palude in uno volumine mediocri glauco corio* – Petrus de Palude *In quartum sententiarum*, Venice: Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus, 1493?
- (94) *Thomas de Argentina in duobus voluminibus scriptus mediocri forma glauco corio* – Manuscript.
- (95) *Occam in uno volumine scriptus mediocri forma glauco corio* – Manuscript.
- (96) *Scriptum Bonaventurae super secundam sententiarum in mediocri volumine glauco corio scriptum* – Manuscript? See no. 84.
- (97) *Tractatus de veritate in uno volumine mediocri nigro colore* – Joannes Vivaldus *Tractatus de veritate contritionis*, Paris 1517?
- (98) *Variae quaestiones quotlibetariae beati Thomae in uno volumine mediocri non penitus circumdatus corio* – Thomas Aquinas *Quodlibeta: varie quaestiones de quolibet disputate*, Cologne 1501. Bound together with

- (99) *In eodem tria scripta circa primam sententiarum* – Manuscript. Bound together with
- (100) *Item corona beate virginis* – Daniel Agricola *Corona beate Marie virginis*, Strasbourg 1483–1493.
- (101) *Item enchiridion beati Augustini omnia in corio* – Aurelius Augustinus *Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate*, Cologne: Ulrich Zell, about 1467 or 1473?³
- (102) *Dionisius Areopagita de coelesti et ecclesiastica ierarchia* – Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite *Coelestis hierarchia ecclesiastica hierarchia*, Paris or Venice.
- (103) *Quodlibet 12 sancti Thomae et notata est tertiam sententiarum Durandi et notata est primam sententiarum simul in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio scripta* – Manuscript.
- (104) *Tabula super libro sancti Thomae* – Petrus de Bergamo *Tabula in libros, opusculs et commentaria divi Thomae de Aquino*, Venice 1497? Bound together with
- (105) *et liber de malo simul in uno mediocri volumine nigro corio* – Thomas Aquinas *De malo*, Cologne: Arnold Ther Hoernen, between 1470 and 1475?
- (106) *Compendium theologiae sancti Bonauentirae [sic] in parvo volumine rubeo corio* – Johannes Rigaldus *Compendium sacre theologie pauperis Sancti Bonaventure*, Basel: Jacobus de Pfortzen, 1501.⁴
- (107) *Liber discipuli de eruditione Christifidelium* – Johannes Herolt *Liber Discipuli de eruditione Christifidelium*, 15th century. Bound together with
- (108) *Arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis etc.* – Johannes Andreae, Johann Lindholz or Johannes Cyntholtz *Arbores Consanguinitatis. Affinitatis?* Bound together with
- (109) *In Turcos poetica declamatio* – Hieronymus Porcius *Declamatio in Turcos*, Rome after 1501 or Naples 1508, or Johannes Aloysius Tuscanus *Declamationes in Turcam*, Rome 1470–71. Bound together with
- (110) *Obedientia Emanuelis* – Diego Pacheco *Obedientia Potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitaniae Regis*, Rome after June 4, 1505.⁵ Bound together with

3 The wording '*tria scripta*' might refer to nos. 99–101, which would mean that the Daniel Agricola and Augustine's *Enchiridion* were also manuscripts.

4 The editors of the list suggested that this was Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, which today is ascribed to Albertus Magnus; Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 313.

5 Francis M. Rogers, *The Quest for Eastern Christians: Travels and Rumor in the Age of Discovery* (Minneapolis 1962), 188–190.

- (111) *Mundus novus* – Amerigo Vespucci *Mundus nouus*.⁶ Bound together with
- (112) *cum itinerario Johannis de Hese. Simul in parvo volumine rubeo colore* – Johannes Witte de Hese *Itinerarius a Jerusalem*, Cologne or Deventer.
- (113) *Prudentii apotheosis in parvo volumine rubeo corio* – Aurelius Prudentius Clemens *Apotheosis*, Deventer about 1497?
- (114) *Epistola beati Eusebii ad Damasum de morte Hieronymi Similiter epistola beati Augustini ad Cyrillum Epistola beati Hieronymi ad Susannam lapsam Epistola Hieronymi ad Heliodorum* – Different parts of Hieronymus *Vita et transitus*, 15th century. Bound together with
- (115) *Conclusiones morales Johannis Gerson in parvo volumine simul in rubeo corio* – Johannes Gerson's *Conclusiones de diversis materiis moralibus*, Cologne: Ulrich Zell, not after 1470?
- (116) *Sermo in laudem beatae virginis scriptus* – Manuscript.
- (117) *Tractatus Ave Maria scriptus* – Manuscript. Bound together with
- (118) *Liber Augustini de verae vitae agnitione* [sic] – Aurelius Augustinus *De cognitione verae vitae*. Bound together with
- (119) *Liber eiusdem de vita christiana* – Augustinus *De vita christiana*. Bound together with
- (120) *Tractatus incipiens: Mulier amicta sole* – *Virgin of the rosary*, a broadsheet, Paris about 1490. Bound together with
- (121) *De benedictionibus variis Mariae* – Unidentified.
- (122)⁷ *Tractatus de 9 gladiis Mariae* – Unidentified. Bound together with
- (123) *Tractatus de salutatione angelica* – Unidentified. Bound together with
- (124) *Item de planctu beatae virginis* – Bernard of Clairvaux *De planctu Beatae Mariae Virginis*, Cologne ca. 1472–1473?
- (125) *Epistola Eneae Sylui de situ Thabor et de communione sub utraque specie in parvo volumine nigro corio* – Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini) *Dialogus contra Bohemos atque Thaboritas de sacra communione corporis Christi*, Cologne: Ulrich Zell, not after 1472.
- (126) *Sermo passionis in die parasceves* – Bernard of Clairvaux *Passio sive sermo in diebus Parasceves*, 16th century. Bound together with
- (127) *cum concordantia quattuor evangeliorum* – Daniel Agricola *Concordantia quattuor evangelistarum*, 1509 or 1511. Bound together with
- (128) *Tractatus de instructione simplicium confessorum* – Antoninus Florentinus *Tractatus de instructione seu directione simplicium confessorum*, Cologne: not after 1471, not after 1472 or about 1486. Bound together with

6 Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 314.

7 The inventory seems to indicate that nos. 122–125 together formed one volume.

- (129) *Dulcelogium beati Bernhardi dictum: Ave puer parvule* – Bernardus Claraevallensis *Dulciloquium de incarnatione Jesu Christi*.⁸ Bound together with
- (130) *Oratio funebris in funere domini Petri cardinalis simul in uno parvo volumine rubeo corio* – Ludovicus Imolensis *Oratio in funere Cardinalis Petri Ferrici* or Nicolaus Modrusiensis *Oratio in funere Petri Cardinalis S. Sixti habita*.
- (131) *Opera beati Bernhardi in uno volumine novo mediocri forma* – Bernard of Clairvaux.
- (132) *Penitas cito* – *Peniteas* [Poeniteas] *cito*. Bound together with
- (133) *Stella clericorum* – *Stella clericorum*. Bound together with
- (134) *Resolutorium dubiorum circa celebrationem missae* – Johannes de Lapide (Heynlin) *Resolutorium dubiorum misse*, Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1499. Bound together with
- (135) *Tres tractatus plures, duo de missa* – Unidentified. Bound together with
- (136) [*Tres tractatus plures, duo de missa*] – The second of the two works on the mass. Bound together with
- (137) *tertius de expositione orationis dominicae* – Thomas Aquinas *De expositione dominice orationis scilicet Pater noster*, Cologne: Heinrich Quentel, ca. 1490–1494? Bound together with
- (138) *Lavacrum conscientiae* – Jacobus de Gruytrode *Lavacrum conscientiae*. Bound together with
- (139) *Epistola Francisci Petrarchae. De historia Grisoldis* [sic] – Francesco Petrarca *Epistola domini Francisci Petrarche Laureati poeta ad dominum Joannem Florentinum, poetam, de historia Griseldis mulieris*, Deventer: Richard Paffraet, ca 1494?⁹ Bound together with
- (140) *Opus de futuris christianorum triumphis in Turcos ex apocalipsi, simul in parvi volumine glauco corio* – Johannes Annius *De futuris Christianorum triumphis in Saracenos, seu glossa super Apocalypsin*.¹⁰
- (141) *Libellus de officio missae in parva forma nigro corio per medium circumdatus* – Berno *Libellus de officio missae*.
- (142) *Liber antiquus, in quo continetur breviarius cum canone missae rubeo corio in pergameno scriptus* – Manuscript.

8 Though the usage would be unusual, *dictum* might have been employed here instead of *incipiens* (see no. 120) to indicate a manuscript.

9 The wording of the list may suggest two separate editions; see Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 314.

10 Nos. 132–140 seem to have been assembled in connection with a stay at a continental European university.

- (143) *Libellus de vertitate* [sic] *contritionis rubeo corio Bi foris rubeis litteris* – Giovanni Lodovico Vivaldi *Aureum opus de veritate contritionis*.
- (144) *Libellus Prosperi per medium rubeo corio circumdatus* – Prosper Tiro?
- (145) *Praeceptorium Nicolai de Lyra, est parvula forma rubeo corio* – Henricus de Vimaria/Heinrich of Friemar (Pseudo-Nicolaus de Lyra) *Praeceptorium*. Bound together with
- (146) *In eodem passio dominorum sacerdotum sub dominio marchionis* – Theodoricus (Dietrich) Morung *Passio dominorum sacerdotum sub dominio marchionis secundum Matthaeum*, a literary satire confronting conflicts in the German diocese of Würzburg, Bamberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, about 1482 or Vienna/Ingolstadt about 1483.¹¹
- (147) *Hymni Prudentii scripti Relatio Simmachii ad Valentinianum Versus ad textum sententiarum Sedulius simul scripti in parvo libro rubeo corio* – Manuscript.
- (148) *Breviarius et ordo psalterii secundum morem Romanae curiae in parvo libro ad clausuras...* [an illegible passage] *nunc in 10 tetros insculpto* – *Breviarium Romanum*.
- (149) *Diurnale secundum ordinem Lubicensem scriptum in pergameno parvae formae et rubeo corio* – Manuscript.
- (150) *Collectae in quattuor libros sententiarum scriptae Rostochii in uno volumine mediocre forma in nigro corio* – Manuscript.¹²
- (151) *Collecta in secundam sententiarum specialiter circa textum in uno volumine mediocris formae rubeo corio* – Perhaps a collection of manuscripts such as no. 150.
- (152) *Varii tractatus Johannis Gerson quorum unus de vita Auenionis scripti in uno volumine rubeo corio mediocri* – Manuscript.
- (153) *Omiliae 44 Chrisostomi cum homeliis super epistolae ad Hebraeos* – Johannes Chrysostomus.
- (154) *Collecta super evangelium Johannis una cum passione domini dominici materia in uno volumine mediocri rubeo corio. Et iste liber N ascriptum est in dorso. Attinet episcopo Nicolao* – Manuscript. The volume in question had been marked with a capital *N* on the back, indicating that it belonged to a bishop Nikolaus of Schlesvig, maybe Nikolaus IV (1429–1474), who was the last bishop of that name before 1519.
- (155) *Lyra super quattuor evangelistas cum tractatu beati Thomae de humanitate Christi in uno volumine scripta mediocri forma rubeo corio* – Manuscript.

11 Alfred Wendehorst, *Bistum Würzburg. Vol. 3: Die Bischofsreihe von 1455 bis 1617* (Berlin 1978), 30–31. This title seems to have been acquired abroad, as were nos. 132–140.

12 This collection of *sententiae* was written and assembled in the German town of Rostock.

- (156) *Collecta de sacerdotibus, officio missae et aliis in libro parvo corio circumdato* – Henricus Heinbuche of Langenstein *Secreta sacerdotum que in missa teneri debent multum utilia collecta*.
- (157) *Thesaurus beati Cyrilli scriptus et ligatus in pergameno foris rubeis corrigiis mediocri forma* – Manuscript.
- (158) *Petrus de Aquila super quattuor libros sententiarum ligatus in pergameno mediocri forma* – Petrus de Aquila *Dictus Scotellus super quattuor libros magistri sententiarum*, Venice: Simon de Luere, 1501.
- (159) *Summa Augustini de Ancona de ecclesiastica potestate* – Augustinus de Ancona *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica*, 1470s–1480s.
- (160) *Rationale divinorum Guilhelmi mediocri forma et rubeo corio* – Guillelmus Duranti (Guillaume Durand) *Rationale divinorum officiorum*.
- (161) *Epistolae beati Cypriani cum caeteris opusculis eiusdem in libro mediocri corio rubeo* – Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus.
- (162) *Dialogus Maphei Vegii tractatulus* – Mapheus Vegius *Dialogus inter Alethiam et Philaeten*, Zwolle: P. Os van Breda, ca 1501. Bound together with
- (163) *Aeneae Sylui ad regem Bohemiae liber* – Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) *De educatione puerorum ad regem Bohemiae Ladislaum*, Cologne: Ulrich Zell, about 1470. Bound together with
- (164) *dialogus Chrisostomi* – Johannes Chrysostomus *Dialogi de dignitate sacerdotii*. Bound together with
- (165) *Aeneas Syluius de duobus amantibus Curioli [sic] et Lucretiae in uno parvo volumine simul rubeo corio* – Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) *De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia*.
- (166) *Tractatus Johannis Gerson de laude scriptorum* – Johannes Gerson *De laude scriptorum ad Carthusienses et Coelestinos*, Cologne 1473. Bound together with
- (167) *disputatio inter clericum et militem super potestate prelatorum ecclesiastica* – Petrus de Bosco or Guilelmus de Ockham *Dialogus inter clericum et militem super dignitate papali et regia*, Deventer: Richard Paffraet, 1491. Bound together with
- (168) *libri 5 de finibus bonorum et malorum* – Marcus Tullius Cicero *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. Bound together with
- (169) *Lucius Florus simul in uno volumine parvo nigro corio* – Lucius Annaeus Florus.¹³
- (170) *Quaestiones evangeliorum Johannis de terra cremata cum opusculo. Idem de flos theologiae in uno volumine nigro pergameno* – Johannes de

13 Lindbaek suggests the *Epitome rerum Romanorum*; Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', 316.

Turrecremata *Quaestiones evangeliorum de tempore et de sanctis. Add: Nicolaus de Byard: [Dictionarius pauperum] Flos theologiae sive Summa de abstinentia*, 1480s.¹⁴

- (171) *Duae partes secundum ordinem Sleswicensis ordinarii, una hyemalis in asseribus ligatus et in pergamento scriptus estivale in pergamento scriptus et ligatus* – Manuscript.
- (172) *Liber horarum secundum ordinem Lubicensem in maiori forma rubeo corio* – *Breviarium Lubicense*, Lübeck: Lucas Brandis, 1478.

‘[II] In iure sunt isti libri subscripti’

- (173) *Decretales in magna forma rubeo corio impressae* – *Decretales*.
- (174) *Decretum in magna forma rubeo corio impressum* – Gratianus *Decretum*?
- (175) *Sextus est scriptus in pergamento mediocri forma rubeo corio* – Manuscript.
- (176) *Clementinae in magna forma nigro corio* – *Constitutiones Clementinae*.
- (177) *Decretales scripte in uno volumine magna forma rubeo corio* – Manuscript.
- (178) *Decretum aequali forma scriptum in uno volumine magno et albo corio circumdatum* – Manuscript.
- (179) *Lectio domini Nicolai super decretales in quattuor voluminibus maiori forma et rubeo corio* – Nicolaus Panormitanus de Tudeschis *Lectura super I–V libris Decretalium*.
- (180) *Rosarium domini Guidonis archidiaconi super decreto in magno volumine et rubeo corio* – Guido de Baisio *Rosarium*.
- (181) *Summa Astaxani [sic] in magno volumine nigro corio* – Astesano *Summa de casibus conscientiae*.¹⁵
- (182) *Idem in medocribus tribus voluminibus scripto et circumdato lineo blaveo uno, secundo nigro corio, tertio glauco corio* – Manuscript.
- (183) *Dominicus super sextum decretalium in duobus voluminibus maioris formae et rubeo corio litteris aureis* – Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano *Super sexto decretalium*. Bound together with
- (184) *et super lectura domini Anthonii de Butrio super quartum decretalium in uno volumine magno et rubeo corio* – Antonio da Budrio *Super quarto libro Decretalium*.

14 Copies of three of four editions published in the 1480s are now in the Royal Library of Denmark in Copenhagen.

15 The form of the author's name displayed in this entry, Astexanus, seems to have been quite common in the Middle Ages and can be found in a good number of contemporary sources, such as the sales advertisement for Mentel's 1469 edition of the *Summa Astexana*.

- (185) *Liber qui dicitur supplementum etc in maiori forma nigro corio* – Nicholas of Osimo *Supplementum summae Pisanellae*. Manuscript? See no. 129.
- (186) *Repertorium Petri Brixisensi in duobus voluminibus magnis in pergameno compactis* – Petrus de Monte (Brixienensis) *Repertorium utriusque juris*, Nuremberg 1476 or Padua 1480.
- (187) *Repertorium juris alias absenti in mediocri forma* – Johannes Nicolaus de Milis *Repertorium juris alias Absenti*, Basel: Nikolaus Kessler, 1488.
- (188) *Vocabularius juris in mediocri forma rubeo colore* – *Vocabularius juris*. Bound together with
- (189) *et ibidem facetiae Poggii Florentini* – Poggio Florentinus (Bracciolini) *Facetiae*.
- (190) *Formulare advocatorum et procuratorum in parvo volumine nigro colore* – *Formulare advocatorum et procuratorum Romane curie*, 16th century.
- (191) *Alius liber sine titulo de formis absolutionis et aliis processibus in mediocri forma et rubeo corio* – *Forma absolutionis*, 15th century?
- (192) *Modus legendi jura in minore volumine ad medium nigro corio circumdatus* – Werner von Schussenried *Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque Jure*.
- (193) *Questiones mercuriales super sexto in parvo libro scisso corio circumdato scripto*¹⁶ – Manuscript.
- (194) *Lactantius Firmianus de divinis constitutionibus* [sic] – Lucius Coelius Firmianus Lactantius *De diuinis institutionibus*.
- (195) *Epistolae Aeneae Sylui* – Pius II (formerly Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini) *Epistolae familiares*.
- (196) *Franciscus Petrarca* – Francesco Petrarca.
- (197) *Bartholomaeus de rerum proprietatibus* – Bartholomaeus Anglicus *De proprietatibus rerum*.
- (198) *Platina de vitis pontificum* – Bartholomaeus Platina *Historia de Vitis pontificum*.
- (199) *Historia Bohemorum Aeneae Sylui in parvo libri* – *Historia Bohemica*, 15th century?

- ‘[III] In naturalibus historiis, artibus humanitatis et aliis’
- (200) *Speculum naturale est duobus voluminibus maioribus et rubeo corio* – Vincentius Bellovacensis *Speculum naturale*.
- (201) *Libri etymologiarum Isidori in magna forma et glauco corio* – Isidorus Hispalensis (of Seville) *Etymologiae*, Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, 1473.

16 The manuscript of the inventory lacks four lines of text at this point.

- (202) *Secretum Francisci Petrarchae* – Francesco Petrarca's *Secretum de contemptu mundi*, Strasbourg: Adolf Rusch, 1473. Bound together with
- (203) *et de vita solitaria* – Francesco Petrarca *De vita solitaria*, Strasbourg 1473? Bound together with
- (204) *et de remediis utriusque fortunae in uno volumine mediocri forma rubeo corio* – Francesco Petrarca *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, Strasbourg 1473¹⁷
- (205) *Plutarchus in magno volumine rubeo corio et foris intitulado...* – Plutarchus.
- (206) *Chronica Eusebii in maiori forma* – Eusebius of Caesarea *Chronicon*.
- (207) *Picus Mirandula in parvo volumine* – Giovanni Pico della Mirandola *Opera*.
- (208) *Herodotus in mediocri volumine rubeo corio et foris inscriptus* – Herodot.
- (209) *Orosius mediocri volumine rubeo corio* – Paulus Orosius.
- (210) *Epistolae Blesensis in mediocri volumine rubeo corio et una clausula* – *Epistole magistrum Petrum Blesensis*, Brussels: Fratres Vitae Communis in Brussels, 1479–1481.
- (211) *Epistolae Gasparini in mediocri volumine rubeo corio* – Gasparinus Barzizius *Epistolae*.
- (212) *Chronica Schlauorum* – *Chronica slavica*, Lübeck: Matthaueus Brandis, after 1485. Bound together with
- (213) *cum libro de moribus philosophorum in uno volumine mediocri forma et ad medium nigro corio circumdata* – Gualtherus Burlaeus *De vita et moribus philosophorum*.
- (214) *Saxo de historia Danorum in mediocri volumine rubeo corio* – *Denske kroneke*, Odense: Matthaueus Brandis 1502?
- (215) *Ethica Catonis in mediocri volumine rubeo corio* – *Catonis Ethica* published together with Alexander from Villedieu *Grammatici Doctrinale*, Augsburg: Schoensperger, 1511 or Marcus Porcius Cato *Disticha moralia*.
- (216) *Vegilius [sic] in Aeneidos scriptus et male ligatus sine asseribus* – Manuscript.
- (217) *Seruii commentarius in poesim Vergilii in magno volumine rubeo corio* – Honoratus Servius Maurus *Commentarii in Vergilii opera*.
- (218) *Ouidii poesis in mediocri volumine rubeo corio* – Ovid.
- (219) *Persius* – Paulus Flaccus Persius. Bound together with

17 Entries nos. 204–206 either represent a volume that has been put together to contain individual printed editions of all three titles, perhaps acquired and assembled in Strasbourg or indicate an edition of Petrarch's collected works.

- (220) *et Juuenalis adjunctis interpretationibus fabularum poeticarum in mediocri volumine et nigro colore* – Decimus Junius Juvenalis. According to HPB, there is no collected edition which printed the works of Persius first, so this seems to be a volume made up by the buyer out of two separate editions.¹⁸
- (221) *Martialis cum commento in mediocri volumine nigro corio* – Marcus Valerius Martialis *Martialis cum duobus commentis*, Venice 16th century?.
- (222) *Lucanus in libro sine asseribus sed corio circumdatus* – Marcus Annaeus Lucanus.
- (223) *Boetius de consolatione philosophica in parvo libro ad medium corio circumdato* – Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*.
- (224) *Margarita poetica in mediocri volumine glauco corio et foris inscripto* – Albrecht of Eyb *Margarita poetica*.
- (225) *Priscianus Grammaticus in mediocri volumine nigro corio* – Priscianus.
- (226) *Vocabularius Guarini in mediocri volumine rubeo corio* – Johannes Reuchlin *Vocabularius breuiloquus cum arte diphthongandi*. The latter part of this title is by Guarinus of Verona.
- (227) *Vocabularius Tortelli simil forma sed glauco corio* – Johannes Tortellius (Giovanni Tortelli) *Vocabularius: Gemma vocabulorum*.
- (228) *Tripertita historia in mediocri forma* – Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus *Historia tripertita* or *De regimine Ecclesiae*, Paris 16th century.
- (229) *Vocabularius Calapini* [sic] – Ambrosius Calepinus *Vocabularius Thesaurus Copiosissimus*, 16th century.
- (230) *Textus phisicorum Aristotelis scriptus in mediocri volumine nigro corio* – Manuscript.
- (231) *Quotlibeta studii exponens scripta de universalibus et predicamentis in uno parvo volumine rubeo* – Manuscript.
- (232) *Quaestiones mechalice* [sic] *et naturales more exercitii parvo volumine rubeo* – Michelis de Bononia (Michele Angriani), *Questiones disputatae in quattuor libros Sententiarum*, Milano 1510?
- (233) *Quaestiones similes et naturales more exercitii in alio volumine simil priori* – Unidentified. See no. 232.
- (234) *Vocabularius scriptus juxta ordinem alphabeti in aequali forma* – Manuscript.

18 Two comparable made-up volumes are now part of Yale University Library, one consisting of two Venetian editions from the early 1480s (shelfmark + 4620 Copy 2, source HPB 168300754), the other of two works printed in Paris (shelfmark Gn7 b498c, source: HPB 168316001).

The Inventory of a House Belonging to the Bishop of Odense, 1530–1532

The following book list is an extract from the inventory of a house on the island of Fyn that belonged to the bishop of Odense. The inventory has been dated to between 1530–1532.¹

[...] *In cista isto signo [...] notata continentur sequentia:* [...]

- (1) *Jtem j Joannes Maioris super tertium et quartum sententiarium in filo.* – Johannes Maior *In quartum sententiarum quaestiones*, Paris 16th century.
- (2) *Jtem j Florida Corona ligata in asseribus.* – Antonio Gazio *Florida Corona que ad sanitatis hominum conservatione ac longevam vitam perducendam sunt pernecessaria*, Lyons 16th century?
- (3) *Jtem j Saxo Grammaticus ligatus in asseribus.* – Saxo Grammaticus *Danorum Regum heroumque Historia*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1514.
- (4) *Jtem j Policraticj contenta ligata in asseribus.* – Policraticus *Policratici contenta*, Paris 1513.
- (5) *Jtem j Quadragesimale et Aduentale de arte moriendj.* – *Quadragesimale et aduentuale De arte moriendi*, Antwerp: Gerard Leeu 1488.
- (6) *Jtem j Hore in Danica lingua de maiori forma, ligata in asseribus.* – Christiern Pedersen *Vor Frue tider*, Paris 1514 or Leipzig 1517 or a manuscript?
- (7) *Jtem j Petrus de Montagnana.* – Petrus de Montagnano *Fasciculus medicinae*, Venice: Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1513.
- (8) *Jtem j Breviarium Ripense ligatum et vnum non ligatum* [a total of two copies]. – This entry is a mystery, because, as far as we know, no such book was printed before the 1530s.² I tend towards the assumption that this entry represents a printed *Breviarium Ripense* that is now lost. First, the wording does not explicitly identify these two books as manuscripts, as is the case

¹ 'Fortegnelse over endel Böger', 38–39.

² We do not know with any certainty whether there was an earlier manuscript version of a *Breviarium Ripense*. Fredrik Münter (*Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark und Norwegen*, vol. 2:2 [Leipzig 1831], 849) mentions a *Breviarium Daciae Ecclesiae* that he dates 1188, the year of the inauguration of Ribe Cathedral. Knud Ottosen: From the Notmark manual to the Odense Agenda, in: *Living Words & Luminous Pictures – Medieval book culture in Denmark*, ed. Erik Petersen (Copenhagen 1999), 45–153, who has carried out extensive research in Danish

with entry no. 17, and would therefore run counter the general reliability of the information in the inventory. Second, the writer registers two copies of this title at the same time, one bound and one unbound. It would be highly unusual not only for several manuscript copies of one and the same book to have existed at a place or an institution with no connection to any previously known scriptorium. The Slesvig inventory, which includes quite a large number of manuscripts, records no two manuscript copies of one title. Usually, such wording would indicate one pre-bound copy, with the unbound copy that is mentioned intended to be bound later by its new owner (compare with the twenty unbound *Oraria in Danica lingua* in entry no. 18). Therefore, I think this entry has to be regarded as another new contribution to the Danish national bibliography.

- (9) *Jtem j Institutio principis Christianj in pergameno ligata.* – Desiderius Erasmus *Institutio principis Christiani*.
- (10) *Jtem j Eneas Siluius in asseribus ligatus.* – Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini).
- (11) *Jtem j Vocabularius medicine ligatus in asseribus.* – *Liber pandectarum medicinae* or Symphorien Champier *Vocabulorum medicinalium epitomia*, Lyons 1508.
- (12) *Jtem j Dansk kronick.* – Saxo Grammaticus *De denscke Kroneke*, Odense: Matthaeus Brandis, 1502.
- (13) *Jtem j paa Tyske.* – German chronicle.
- (14) *Jtem j Hore in Latino de maiori forma, ligate.* – Latin Book of Hours in large format.
- (15) *Jtem j Vita christi secundum Bouauenturam, non ligata.* – Bonaventura *Vita Christi*, Paris 16th century?
- (16) *Jtem j Vita christi in maiori forma, ligata.* – Bonaventura *Vita Christi*, Paris 16th century?
- (17) *Item j gammel kronick skriffuit aff bisperen i lund domkirke.* – Manuscript.
- (18) [...] *Jtem xx Oraria in Danica lingua, non ligata.* – *Gudelige Bønner*, Copenhagen: Gotfred of Ghemen, 1509, or Christiern Pedersen *Vor Froe tider*,

medieval liturgica, denies the existence of a *Breviarium Ripense* because of lack of evidence. Neither Niels Knud Andersen and P.G. Lindhardt, *Den danske kirkes historie*. Vol. 3: *Den danske kirkes historie under kongerne Christiern I og Hans 1448–1513. Reformationstiden 1513–1536* (Copenhagen 1965) nor Lauritz Nielsen, *Danmarks middelalderlige haandskrifter: en sammenfattende boghistorisk oversigt* (Copenhagen 1937) affirms its existence. Handwritten breviaries from Ribe may, however, have existed: in another work Nielsen mentions a fourteenth-century priest who on his death left a breviary, albeit unspecified; Lauritz Nielsen, *Danske Privatbibliotek gennem Tiderne*. Vol. 1: *Indtil Udgangen af det 17. Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen 1946), 22.

Paris 1514 or Leipzig 1517, or the Danish *Horarium*, Copenhagen: Gotfred of Ghemen, 1505 and 1510.

- (19–20) *Jtem claustra omnia ad minimas horas in Danica lingua et in Latina.* – It seems as if this entry describes at least two books in small format, both Pedersen's Danish Book of Hours and a Latin version. It seems strange, though, that the entry first highlights chains or rather clasps, '*claustra omnia*', connected to more than one of these books of hours. If the context and the specific wording of this entry are put to one side, one might assume that we are dealing here with the misspelled title of a book such as Hugo de Folieto's *Tractatus de Claustro animae* (which appears as no. 237 in the catalogue of the library in Øm, see above chapter 3, pp. 144–149).
- (21) *Jtem 3 Statuta sinodalia, ligata in pergameno.* – Unidentified Danish *Statuta synodalia*.
- (22) *Jtem j Flores poetarum de virtutibus et vicijs.* – *Flores poetarum*.
- (23) *Jtem j Michael Riccius de gestis Francorum, Hispanorum et Vngarorum.* – Michael Riccius (Michele Riccio) from Naples *De Regibus Galliae, Hispaniae, Hierosolymi, Siciliae et Hungariae*, Paris: Jean Badin, 1507 or Basel: Johannes Froben, 1517.³
- (24) *Jtem j Ogerus danus in Gallicana lingua.* – *Ogier le Danois*, one of four French editions printed between 1498 and 1525.⁴
- (25–28) *Jtem varie orationes de sanctis cum alijs [im?]per[fec?]tionibus breuiarij Lundensis, Roschildensis, euangeliorum etc.* – I am uncertain whether the first words of this entry refer to the Leipzig 1522 edition of the *Libellus ad orationes de tempore et de sanctis*, and there seems to be no connection to works containing the phrase '*de sanctis cum alijs*' either. The first part of this entry at least might well refer to a (handwritten?) collection of sermons on saints. The word '*cum*' would then link this first part of the entry to the following literature. We might think of something like a collection of imperfect Danish liturgical books. The *Breviarium Lundense* and the *Breviarium Roschildense* both had been printed by Jean Philippe in Paris 1517. It is impossible to tell which title might hide behind the misspelled word '*euangeliorum*'.

³ A copy of the Paris edition is now in the Royal Library of Denmark.

⁴ Knud Togeby, *Ogier le Danois dans les littératures européennes. Ogier le Danois*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen 1969), 221–222.

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